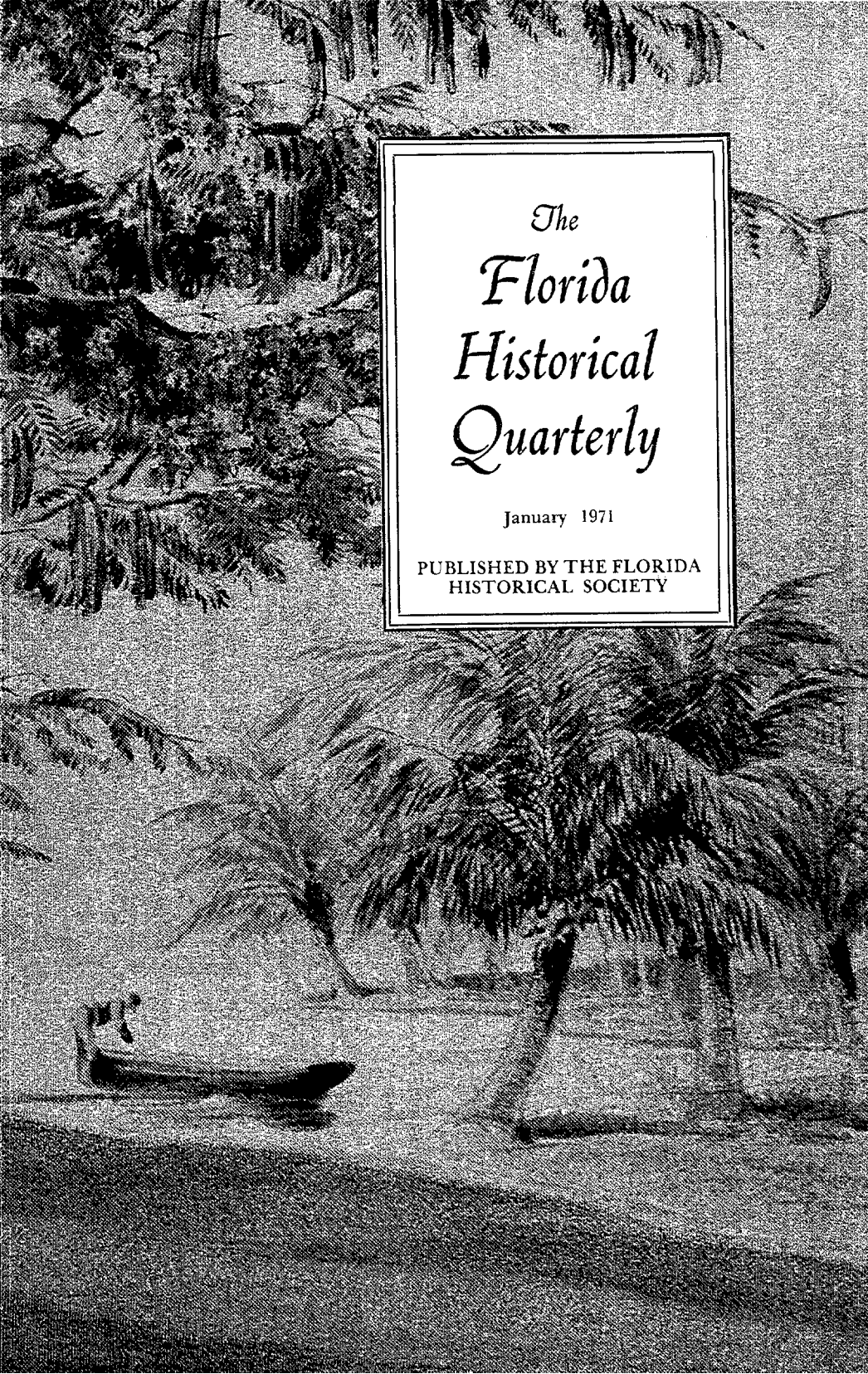

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FRONT COVER

A scene on the grounds of the Royal Poinciana Hotel at Lake Worth, showing a Royal Poinciana *(Poinciana regia)* tree in midsummer full bloom. The colored photograph is from a collection published in a volume entitled *Florida: Beauties of the East Coast,* with text by Mrs. H. K. Ingram. It was compiled by Joseph Richardson, general passenger agent for the Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Indian River Railway, and was printed in St. Augustine. The art work was by the Matthew-Northrup Company of Buffalo, New York. The book is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

The Royal Poinciana Hotel was under construction by Henry M. Flagler at the time the photograph was taken. Started May 1, 1893, on the famous McCormick property-the showplace on the lake-it was completed nine months later, and was advertised as "the largest tourist hotel in the world."

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THIRTY CENT COTTON AT LLOYD, FLORIDA 1916-1919

by CLIFTON PAISLEY*

NOT SINCE THE Reconstruction Era had the price of cotton reached the heights that it did during the period of the first World War. Very few cotton farmers of 1916-1919 could remember personally the 44 cent cotton of 1865, or even the 20 cent cotton, for after 1872 and until the beginning of the war in Europe in 1914, the price remained below 20 cents. Much of this time southern cotton brought less than 10 cents a pound, in 1914 it was only 8.9 cents. From this low price however, cotton advanced to 19.3 cents in 1916, 29.6 cents in 1917, 31 cents in 1918, and 36.3 cents in 1919, the highest in fifty-four years. [1]

Cotton was the principal crop around Lloyd, Florida, in the years between 1916 and 1919, and the tripling of its price should have meant prosperity. Almost in the center of Florida's small antebellum cotton belt, Lloyd is in Jefferson County, just on the edge of Leon County. Cotton had been grown around Lloyd since the 1830s, and just before the Civil War the combined production of Leon and Jefferson counties comprised 27,533 bales; the total Florida crop was 65,153 bales. [2] The increase in price during World War I, however, meant anything but prosperity for the Negro tenants who were the principal cotton farmers. As a bale of cotton advanced in value from $40.00 or $50.00 to $130 or more, tenants did realize an increased paper income, perhaps $250 or $300 a year as compared with an earlier $100. The additional dollars, however, were eaten up by increasing rents, which advanced from a long-prevailing $1.50 an acre to $2.00, and finally to $2.50; by the liquidation of past debt; and by added costs for fencing, fer-

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1. Harry Bates Brown and Jacob Osborn Ware, *Cotton* (New York, 1958), 543. The prices given are averages for the year and may be called, according to the authors, the "national price" of cotton.
2. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860, Agriculture,* 19.

tilizers, and work animals. The boll weevil also arrived at about the same time as higher cotton prices, thus cutting production.

The experience of tenants during this period can be read in a thick ledger of the Thomas H. Lloyd Store at Lloyd for the period 1916-1920. [3] Of the 422 accounts carried by Lloyd, many are of tenants who traded their cotton for farm implements, fertilizers, seeds, and other supplies at the store, which handled principally hardware. Lloyd also kept an account for his own plantation and those of his sister and other relatives. He sold supplies to many land owners and independent farmers in the community which numbered some 200 people. The plantation accounts indicate that the advance in cotton prices was hardly any more profitable for landlords than for their tenants and croppers. Farming, which had been suffering economically ever since the Civil War, appeared to decline even further during World War I.

Whether tenants paid their rents in cotton or in cash, the rents increased with wartime inflation. Thompson Ruffin, renting land from Miss F. G. McLeod, received $20.58 after 600 pounds of rent cotton were taken from his two-bale 1916 crop. Cotton brought 15 cents a pound on the Lloyd market at the time, but by the fall of 1919 the price was 30 cents. Ruffin agreed to pay 1,000 pounds of cotton for fifty acres. Apparently this rental amount was adjusted downward in view of a short crop, but even after 407 pounds had been sold at 28.12 cents a pound and 157 pounds at 36.12 cents a pound his rent account was not settled until he had also contributed $14.00 worth of corn. His rent in 1919 totaled $187.71, more than twice the $90.00 that he had paid three years earlier. [4] Tom McLeod paid $146.64 in cotton as his 900-pound rent on the same plantation in 1916. The rent increased from $182.46 worth of cotton in 1917, to $260.10 in cotton in 1918, and $275 in cotton in 1919 without much change in the amount of cotton. [5]

3. The ledger for the store operated by Thomas H. Lloyd (1858-1930), other business records of Lloyd, a 1911 taxroll for the town of Lloyd, and some business records of Thomas H. Bond were loaned to the author by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas O. Bond of Foggy Bottom Farm near Lloyd. Later they were given by the Bonds to the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, where they are indexed as the Thomas H. Bond Business Papers.
4. "Thomas H. Lloyd Store Ledger, 1916-1920," Thomas H. Bond Business Papers, 85, 119, 339, Hereinafter referred to as "Lloyd Ledger."
5. *Ibid.*, 119, 220, 339.

Landlords had an advantage not readily available to tenants; they could hold rent cotton waiting for a higher price on an advancing market. Thus, a bale of Tom McLeod's cotton deposited September 29, 1918, was not actually sold until April 1919, when it brought 30.06 cents a pound, or $162. [6]

Some other rents were paid in cash, but this did not necessarily mean that tenants were involved in an actual cash transaction. As in cotton rents, payments were taken out of the fall's cotton crop after ginning, and if any cash was left over it was frequently credited against other obligations on the store ledger. Tenants often rented from more than one owner. When Ben Turner received $84.11 for 334 pounds of cotton and $17.04 for cottonseed in October 1917, it did not quite cover his $111.33 in rents: seventeen acres from Mrs. Annie L. Bond, fifteen acres from Miss Annie L. Bond, and thirty acres from T. H. Lloyd. [7] The Lloyd store ledger shows $50.00 cash rents on Mrs. Bond's land: Frank Ford paid $50.00 rent on some thirty acres in 1916, $62.50 in 1917, and $82.50 both in 1918 and 1919; John Hall paid $49.50 in 1916 on some thirty acres, $66.00 in 1917, $75.00 in 1918, and $78.00 in 1919. Hall's land in 1919 included "one acre for cane." On sixteen and one-half acres John Brown paid $93.75 in 1916, $125 in 1917, and $156.25 in 1918. In 1919, he rented ninety-two and one-half acres, for $231.25. Brown received $245.51 for two bales of cotton in October 1919, which barely covered his rental at $2.50 an acre. Moreover, he was billed, in addition, $25.00 rent on a mule. [8]

Work animals, especially mules, were expensive to buy, and these sometimes were the source of long-standing debt. The expense of mule-power in 1916 is indicated by the entry on Ben Turner's account, December 2: "amount due on mule note $145.72." Oxen were less expensive; on January 16, 1918, John Hall turned over a large black ox, valued at $50.00, to cover a balance of $31.30 owed at the store since the first of the year, and $18.70 remaining on a mortgage which dated from November 24, 1905. It was possible, however, to rent animals. Walter Ruffin rented an ox for $15.00 in 1916 and a mule for $25.00 in 1917. The $25.00 mule rent paid by Frank Ford in 1916 was

6. *Ibid.*, 220.
7. *Ibid.*, 78.
8. *Ibid.*, 58, 59, 78, 86, 240, 247, 309, 361.

half as much as what he paid to rent some thirty acres of land. Short-term mule rentals were arranged occasionally, the labor of a mule bringing about the same as that of a man. In January 1916, Thompson Ruffin was charged $2.75 for use of a mule for four and one-half days. The tenants themselves sometimes earned extra money with their work animals. A day's work "by self and mule" earned John Andy Brown $1.20 in 1918, while a day's work by "self, mules and cultivator" was worth $2.50. [9]

Sick or injured animals ran up expenses. John H. Leonard in August 1916 was billed $15.00 for treatment of a mare by a veterinarian. Work animals also were expensive when they broke loose and foraged on the landlord's cropland. March Bell was charged $6.00 and Frank Ford $5.00 on November 6, 1919, for "damage by cattle on corn." Some three years earlier Bell had bought ten rods of fifty-eight inch wire fencing for $7.50, but apparently this was not enough to confine his cows. [10]

A heavy sale of wire fencing, as shown by the store records, indicates the change of thinking in Florida in the early twentieth century about fencing livestock. In the antebellum times Leon County planters fenced their croplands, allowing stock to graze outside along the lakes and watercourses. [11] As long as rangeland remained plentiful in Florida, a body of statutory law grew up replacing the ancient common law rule that a man was responsible for the damage his stock did on another's land. Shortly after the turn of the century, however, the development of many groves and farms in the old rangeland revealed the need for fences to enclose stock. County agents and other agriculturists were also emphasizing improved livestock, and fences helped maintain such stock. By 1912, therefore, the state agriculture commissioner was advocating a "no-fence" law which would make fence-building the stock owner's responsibility, not the owner of croplands.

Many farmers around Lloyd built fences after 1916. In May 1918, Jeff Scurry bought $36.00 worth of fencing, four twenty-rod rolls of 28/12 wire at $9.00 a roll. The cost was more than

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9. *Ibid.*, 59, 78, 85, 126, 231, 240.
10. *Ibid.*, 58, 60.
11. Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton To Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967* (Gainesville, 1968), 16.
12. *Thirteenth Biennial Report of the State Department of Agriculture, 1913-1914* (Tallahassee, 1913), 9.

one-third as large as his rent bill of $79.38 on thirty-two and one-half acres. Forty rods of fencing cost Sol Thompson $21.00 in February 1917. Fencing was a heavy expense for planters and cattlemen as well as for tenants. Miss F. G. McLeod, plantation owner, paid $166.25 in March 1916, for barbed wire for hog and cattle fencing. B. L. Yon purchased half a mile of twenty-six inch mesh wire in November 1916, paying $36.75 cash; he bought another half mile of fencing for $69.00 in March 1918. [13]

Farmers were also buying better plows and farm equipment. A Chattanooga double was considered the best kind of plow at this time. Tom McLeod paid $12.00 for one early in 1917, although at the time he rented only thirty-five or forty acres of land at a rental of twenty-five pounds of lint cotton an acre. Thompson Ruffin, another renter, still owed $8.50 in 1917 on a Chattanooga plow he had bought in 1914. Cultivators, peanut hullers, and even an occasional wagon, the latter costing $69.00, became relatively routine purchases. In 1916 Laz Ruffin purchased a Chattanooga plow for $11.75 and a Hocking Valley corn sheller costing $12.80. [14]

Farmers in Leon, Jefferson, and other counties in Florida's cotton belt long had been accused of wearing out the land by too little use of fertilizers. At Lloyd during World War I, fertilizer purchases were heavy, particularly for crops other than cotton, such as peanuts. Four bags of sixteen percent acid phosphate costing $10.00 were purchased by J. H. Gardner on March 21, 1916, along with 120 pounds of running peanuts and 110 pounds of Spanish peanuts. In June Gardner signed a note for $37.68 payable on October 1, to cover these purchases. [15]

Growing watermelon seed, later a major enterprise in Jefferson County, required heavier outlays for fertilizer than many other crops, and from the store accounts of this period it appears that returns were uncertain. In the spring of 1917 John Leonard bought five sacks of 8-2-0, 10-2-0, and 8-2-2 fertilizer for $19.50, and 50 cents worth of melon seeds. His return on August 31 was $56.00 for 560 pounds of seed at 10 cents a pound. In the same year T. H. Ward sold 162 pounds of melon seed for $16.20,

13. "Lloyd Ledger," 40, 76, 119, 207.
14. *Ibid.*, 21, 57, 85, 183.
15. *Ibid.*, 66.

although fertilizer had cost him $10.50. John Leonard, Sr., sold 630 pounds of Irish gray melon seed on August 2, 1919, at 15 cents a pound and this brought him $94.50. In the spring, however, he had bought $22.50 worth of fertilizer and there were other expenses. The melon seed brought less than twice the $49.25 he received in May 1919 for 196 pounds of cotton held over from the last year's crop which he sold at 25 cents a pound. In 1918 independent farmers and tenants were paying for seed and fertilizer and for the bags in which to pack watermelon seed: Jim Cooper, a tenant, signed a note for $20.00 to cover four bags of fertilizer, and in August he paid $10.25 for eleven seamless bags and four jute bags.[16]

John Johnson, a tenant on the Lloyd plantation, appeared to be typical of the cotton farmers during this period of rising cotton prices. In October 1916, he sold a 520-pound bale and a 382-pound bale at a price just over 16 cents a pound, receiving $146.12 for the lint and $17.37 for seed. The 258 pounds of cotton he sold in November brought $52.02 at a price of 19.87 cents. Much of what Johnson made in cotton in 1916 he paid out for rent of the three parcels he farmed. But the rent, totaling $139 at the rate of $1.50 an acre, had not increased from the previous year, and Johnson, a thrifty and energetic worker, was able to supplement what he made on cotton by other enterprises. In February he reduced his store account $34.00 for "boards, repairing house and building, chimney and hauling lumber." "Work on wagon and at plantation" earned him an additional $11.00 in September, and smaller tasks during the year added to his income. He received $48.27 from his last sale of cotton in 1916, although this likely went for other necessities at a different store.

Old debts began to become a burden, however. In February a debit of $17.00 on one note was entered against his account, $2.00 was added in April, and in June he was billed $12.38 on a rent note of the previous year. Another $18.53 owed on a ten-year-old debt also came up for payment. When he sold fifteen bales of hay in June the entire proceeds, $8.32, were credited on this old mortgage and a note dated January 25, 1906. Higher cotton prices in 1917, passing 30 cents a pound,

16. *Ibid.*, 39, 93, 169, 318.

provided a basis for increasing prosperity, but what Johnson received went for debt liquidation, heavy expenditures for capital items, and increasing rents. Like other farmers, he spent a sizable amount for wire fencing: on May 26, 1917, he secured forty rods of 28/6 wire and some staples for $20.20, and since he had to buy on credit there was an interest charge also. On his 1906 note and mortgage, meanwhile, he owed $54.70. He received $57.08 from the sale of 233 pounds of cotton in June 1917, but after paying his debts, he had little remaining.

Johnson sold his first bale from his 1917 crop for $91.35, at a price of 21 cents a pound, but on September 20, the same day his account was credited with this amount, it was debited with rent payments which had been raised $34.00 from $139 since 1916. Johnson made two additional cotton deliveries during the fall of 1917: 287 pounds on November 13 at 27.45 cents a pound, and 231 pounds the next day at 31 cents a pound. The $151.60 that he received completed payment on his rent, and there would have been some money left except that Johnson now was billed $35.00 for mule rent for 1916 which had not been charged, together with mule rent for 1917, a total of $70.00.

Johnson was employed in a number of odd-jobs in 1918, grew peanuts and hay for sale, and during cotton-ginning time, he received record prices for some of his largest bales: on September 7 he sold a 424-pound bale for $128.26 at 30.4 cents a pound and received $17.52 for seed. He paid $100 in cash on September 30, probably from another cotton sale, but $70.00 of this paid for the two mules he had rented that year. At the end of the year Johnson's balance was $200, but this had to go on his land rent for that year.

The following year, 1919, Johnson virtually withdrew from farming, although he still rented ninety-four acres of land for which he had to pay $235. The Lloyd store accounts show that he delivered no cotton up to September 22, although in January he had sold $77.60 worth of peanuts. He had a steady income, however, from a job which paid him $1.00 a day. His old debts meanwhile continued to harass him; between February 5 and September 22, when his account was transferred to the 1920 ledger, $113.56 of accumulated indebtedness was added to his accounts due. Instead of renting mules by the year, in

1919 he rented a mule and plow two days in June, at a cost of $1.00. [17]

If plantation accounts in the Lloyd ledger were typical, cotton farming under the tenant system also proved to be unprofitable to the land owner. Those operating on cash rent apparently did better than those charging pounds of cotton per area farmed as cotton prices doubled and tripled. Apparently tenants were leaving the cotton-rent plantations for cash-rent plantations to take advantage of rising cotton prices. Miss McLeod's acreage, where the cotton rent system was used, produced $453.52 from six renters in 1916, $476.78 from five renters in 1917, and $477.20 from the same number in 1918. With three cotton renters in 1919, the rents amounted to $500.21, and plantation accounts showed an increase over the previous years, but only because of the $252.50 from the "Tom Atkinson 1919 pear crop." [18]

The cash-rent land of Mrs. Annie L. Bond, a sister of Lloyd, showed better results: eight renters paid $326.50 in 1915; eleven, $354.56 in 1916; thirteen, $485.08 in 1917; and twelve paid $580.75 in 1918. The increase from 1915 to 1918 is not impressive, however, when the advancing cotton price is considered. A landowner would need other income to be comfortably situated. Mrs. Bond owned other properties, including a boarding house, Jessamine Cottage, on North Monroe Street in Tallahassee. [19] Although not wealthy, she had a bank account sufficient to cover $1,816.85 in checks drawn against it between April 19, 1918 and January 21, 1919. [20]

An important reason for the failure of higher cotton prices to boost the economy of this area was the boll weevil which was reported in Leon and Jefferson counties in the early summer of 1916; there was evidence it had been in some fields of both counties the previous season.[21] When T. P. Strickland of Iamonia brought in Leon's first 1916 cotton bale on August 17, he estimated the crop in his area of the county would be cut in half. [22] Although as it turned out the boll weevil was not that destruc-

17. *Ibid.*, 63, 140, 229, 292, 331.
18. *Ibid.*, 119, 339.
19. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, September 29, 1919.
20. "Lloyd Ledger," 29, 131, 316.
21. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, June 28, 1916; Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 38-39.
22. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, August 18, 1916.

tive, there was a decline of production. Special cotton agent J. R. Miller reported that Leon County ginned 2,240 bales through November 14, 1917, as compared with 2,370 the previous year. There was a further decline in 1918. [23]

Farmers were trying new varieties of cotton at this time, including one called Floradora. John A. Scruggs grew Floradora as early as 1916. He recalled later that it had the advantage of maturing early and that the staple was somewhat longer than usual upland varieties.[24] For the most part short staple upland cotton was grown around Lloyd, but there was a little Sea Island cotton cultivated. [25] The Lloyd store records show shipment of 6,191 pounds to Sea Island Cotton Ginning Company at Live Oak on January 10, 1916, the cotton bringing $433.37; on January 8, 1918, 1,542 pounds brought $323.82 at 21 cents a pound; and on December 31, 1918, 1,402 pounds sold for $200.50. [26]

With the boll weevil infestation, farmers experimented with other crops and some successfully raised livestock. The Lloyd community became a main shipper of watermelon seed and Jefferson County a large producer of this item. [27] Farmers grew peanuts, but few were as successful as John Tumpler, a tenant on the El Destino plantation of the Jones family. According to J. P Baum, the plantation manager, Tumpler sold a crop of peanuts from two and one-quarter acres for $163 in 1917. He then harvested the peanut hay and sold it for $48.50. [28] B. L. Yon, a farm owner, brought in a sweet potato in November 1918, which indicated what the rich soil could produce. The potato, a Puerto Rican variety, weighed ten and three-quarter pounds and almost filled a peck measure in the Lloyd store. [29]

Cotton, however, continued to be grown by most of the tenants and farm owners in the area, and the community was ideally organized to buy, gin, and transfer cotton to market. Although a community called Bailey's Mill had existed there

23. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1917, October 8, 1918.
24. Interview with John A. Scruggs, November 22, 1969; "Lloyd Ledger," 9.
25. Interview with Jim Cooper, September 7, 1969.
26. "Lloyd Ledger," 64, 81.
27. Louise H. Edwards, "Looking Through The Post Office Window" (unpublished mss., 1956), Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, 12.
28. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, October 22, 1917.
29. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1918.

earlier, Lloyd had its economic beginning after a rail line was completed between Tallahassee and Jacksonville before the Civil War. Workmen started laying rails from Tallahassee in 1857, and in 1858 passengers and freight were moving between Station 2, as Lloyd was called, and Tallahassee. There they could transfer to the railroad running from Tallahassee to St. Marks, the antebellum cotton port for Leon arid Jefferson counties. In December 1860, the railroad was completed to Lake City and connected with a line extending westward from Jacksonville. [30] After the war, when cotton was again being shipped in quantity, it moved over this line to Live Oak, and then by the Lawton connection to Georgia, where it was shipped to mills in the northeast. [31] A brick depot was erected at Lloyd, and just to the west of this depot a long cotton loading platform of heart pine lumber was built. Two cotton gins were built later; one was operated for years by Walter L. Bond and the other by H. R. Edwards. Even though Lloyd's population was no more than 200, it had several merchants catering to the needs of farmers over a wide area of Jefferson and Leon counties, and they received their ginned cotton in the fall. At various times these merchants included Thomas H. Lloyd, R. B. Laffitte, George Dennis, D. B. Mills, and various members of the Bond family. [32]

The enterprising Lloyd merchants not only bought cotton; when cottonseed came into demand as a separate item, they purchased this also, providing farmers $15.00 to $30.00 extra on every bale of lint. The willingness of Lloyd cotton buyers to purchase the seed made the community an ideal place to have cotton ginned, and there was a constant movement of cotton wagons into town in the fall. Some came from as far away as Chaires, Barrow Hill, and Centerville in Leon County. [33] The Lloyd store cashed 272 cottonseed tickets issued by D. B. Mills Co. between September 7 and December 17, 1918, paying $4,329.58 to the holders. Between October 15 and December 18,

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30. Elise Laffitte, "The Old Lloyd Depot," Jefferson County Historical Association, 1968, *passim;* Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* November 28, 1857, October 2, 1858, December 8, 1860.
31. Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail,* 31.
32. Laffitte, "The Old Lloyd Depot"; Elise Laffite to author November 10, 1969; interview with Jim. Cooper, September 7, 1969.
33. *Ibid.;* Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail,* 102.

1918, it received from Florida Cotton Oil Co. on the Mills account a total of $6,169.90 for 173,300 pounds of cottonseed. [34]

Although cotton farming alone did not always prosper, the cotton and mercantile business at Lloyd, based on trade over a wide area of Jefferson and Leon counties, apparently thrived. In 1911 a tax roll shows cotton merchants and mercantile interests prominent among the town's larger taxpayers. Seaboard Airline Railroad was the biggest taxpayer, with an assessed valuation of $10,000. Thomas Lloyd, whose family name had been given to the community sometime after the Civil War, had $4,000 in taxable property; B. L. Yon, $3,200; W. F. Sills, $3,065; R. B. Laffitte, $3,050; D. B. Mills, $2,800; the L. W. Whitfield estate, $2,700; S. V. Coxetter, $2,200; Virginia Walker, $2,200; and H. R. Edwards, $2,000. [35]

In addition to cotton and merchandising, the Lloyd community, by reason of its location on a railroad connecting Jacksonville and Pensacola, had one other enterprise. Sometime after the Civil War, Mrs. George Whitfield, and later her daughter, Mrs. George Dennis, provided dinners for train passengers. Train No. 36 from Jacksonville and No. 37 from Pensacola made twenty-minute mid-day stops, and passengers could go to the Whitfield house for a 75 cent chicken dinner. The occasion was a delightful one for passengers, and the arrival of the trains was also an occasion for the community, since many people gathered at the postoffice around train time to pick up their mail. [36]

In the decade of World War I, however, cotton farming suffered a staggering blow despite sky-high cotton prices. The experience for Leon and Jefferson counties probably was typical of the Lloyd area. Leon County cotton production declined from 4,314 bales in 1909 to 2,093 bales ten years later, and cotton acreage was reduced from 18,504 to 12,781. In Jefferson County the reduction was even greater for the ten-year period: 6,926 to 1,342 bales and from 26,448 to 8,572 acres. Both counties also lost population during the period. Leon's count went from 19,427 to 18,059, and Jefferson's from 17,210 to 14,502. Most of the population loss was caused by Negro migration due to

34. "Lloyd Ledger," 283, 284, 290, 291, 297-99, 301.
35. "Taxroll, town of Lloyd, 1911," Thomas H. Bond Business Papers.
36. Laffitte to author, November 10, 1969; Edwards, "Looking Through the Post Office Window," 45-46; interview with Mrs. Lillie Harris, June 27, 1969.

declining opportunities on the cotton farms and job possibilities elsewhere.[37]

Despite the poor showing of cotton and the tenant system during the first World War period, both cotton growing and the tenant system continued for many years in the Lloyd area. In 1931 tenant arrangements were much the same as they had been ten or fifteen years earlier and indeed ever since Reconstruction. The commodity rental system was still present, but there was a difference. In the past, rents had been paid in cotton or sometimes partly in corn or fodder; now they were paid in cotton, corn, crotalaria seed, hay, velvet beans, sweet potatoes, and syrup. This was at least true of the lands in the estate of T. H. Lloyd, who died on October 26, 1930. These lands never had been measured, and it had been the custom to allocate to a tenant as much land as he, working with a mule, cultivated. "For a mule from 30 to 40 acres, and on an ox less," wrote Thomas H. Bond, co-administrator of the estate, in 1931. "Occasionally it is necessary to estimate on a straight acreage basis where some Lloyd land is tended by the same team in connection with outside land. To make actual measurements would be expensive."[38]

Eventually the cotton-handling and commercial establishment at Lloyd collapsed for lack of business. World War II spelled doom to cotton ginning and the last of the cotton gins, that of H. R. Edwards, went out of business in 1941.[39] Long before this some farmers, such as John A. Scruggs, three miles north of Lloyd, had found it profitable to haul cotton to a gin at Metcalf, Georgia, which had better rail connections than Lloyd.[40] Diners on the trains replaced the Whitfield-Dennis dinner stops, and eventually the trains no longer stopped at Lloyd at all. The locals were taken off on October 17, 1966.[41]

John Scruggs observed his ninety-second birthday on Decem-

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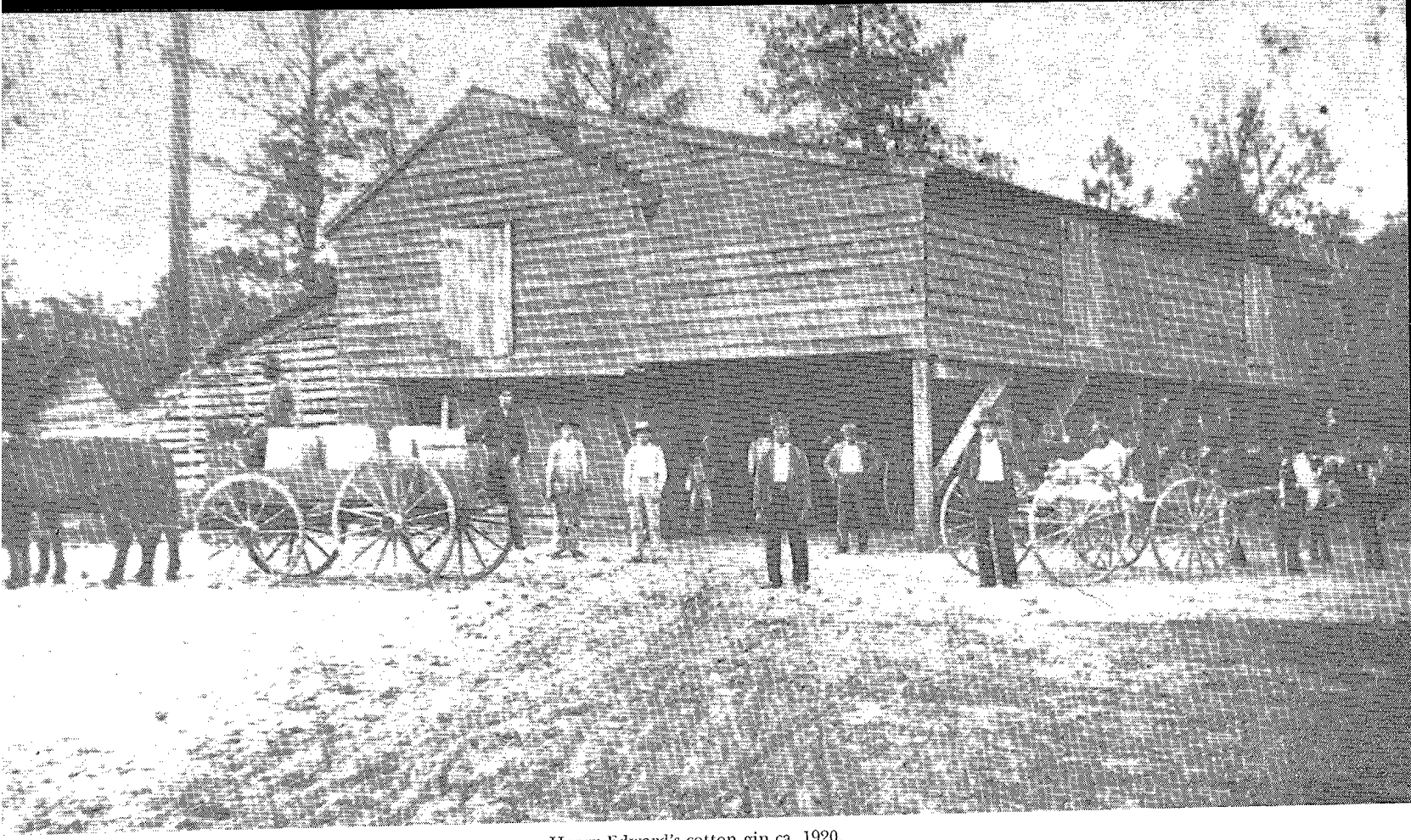
37. *Thirteenth Census of the United States:* 1910, II, *Population,* 324; VI, *Agriculture,* 308; *Fourteenth Census of the United States:* 1920, III, *Population,* 191-92; VI, Part 2, *Agriculture,* 377.
38. Thomas H. Bond to Judge S. D. Clarke, September 4, 1931, Thomas H. Bond Business Papers.
39. Laffitte to author, November 10, 1969.
40. Interview with John A. Scruggs, November 22, 1969.
41. The Seaboard Coastline Railroad has given the depot, now well over 100 years old, to the Jefferson County Historical Association for use as a museum.



Henry Edward's cotton gin ca. 1920.

Wagons unloading cotton at Seaboard Airline depot ca. 1890.

ber 18, 1969, on a place he had farmed for more than half a century. Coming from Georgia in 1904, he took over a section of land which had been inherited from John Cason, his wife's ancestor. At one time Scruggs had twenty-four sharecropper tenants, all growing cotton. Although farming has not been very profitable-he says he has supplemented his income by 'dealing and traffiking" - he loves to farm, he says, and continued until recent years.[42] West of Lloyd, Jim Cooper, a son of slave parents, who was ninety on September 5, 1969, has lived all his life near Lloyd, most of the time renting about twenty acres of the Bond land. He continued to make a cotton crop until disabled by age.[43] Even though the community has lost its commercial superiority most of its population remains; obviously the land retains a strong hold on farmers, whether landowners or tenants.

42. Interview with John A. Scruggs, November 22, 1969.
43. Interview with Jim Cooper, September 7, 1969.

WAR AVERTERS: SEWARD, MALLORY, AND FORT PICKENS

by ERNEST F. DIBBLE *

IN JANUARY 1861, the scene was set in Pensacola and the curtain almost drawn for the first major military confrontation of the Civil War. A crisis over federal property developed in Florida, and except for Fort Pickens at Pensacola and Fort Taylor in Key West, all government installations were seized. In Pensacola, both sides expected hostilities to begin immediately. The navy yard at Warrington, Barrancas barracks, and Fort McRee were taken peacefully, but Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, in command of the Pensacola forts, removed all of his men and as much equipment as possible from the other locations into the more strategically located Fort Pickens. At the same time, Florida's senators, David L. Yulee and Stephen R. Mallory, were crystallizing their desire to capture Fort Pickens. Senator Yulee echoed the thoughts of many others in stating that "the naval station and forts at Pensacola are first in consequence." [1] Senator Mallory, on January 10, telegraphed Colonel William H. Chase, in charge of the gathering rebel forces in Pensacola, stating he expected Pickens and McRee to be captured.[2] However, Colonel Chase did not push the conquest, even though Lieutenant Slemmer sat in the ill-prepared fort with only eighty-one men and refused to surrender. Chase advised Senator Mallory that the capture of Pickens would have to involve a direct assault with many casualties. In the face of this advice, rebelling leaders in Washington conferred and decided not to attack Pickens. The seceding states were poorly organized militarily and politically,

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1. David Levy Yulee to Joseph Finegan, quoted in "More Forts Seized," *Atlanta Century*, January 6, 1861.
2. William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 79-80. The story of the truce of Pickens is detailed by Davis, inspired perhaps by his having been brought up in Pensacola. A more recent account is Richard N. Current, *Lincoln and the First Shot* (Philadelphia, 1963).

and were wooing the border states just as were the incoming and outgoing federal administrations. Thus, for political rather than military reasons, Yulee and Mallory telegraphed not to attack Fort Pickens. Backed by senators from Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, the Florida senators joined in stating that Pickens was "not worth one drop of blood." [3] This decision not to attack was confirmed and enhanced when the warship *Brooklyn* sailed with two companies aboard to reinforce the ill-manned Fort Pickens. The "Truce of Pickens" was agreed upon on January 28, 1861, wherein the South would not attack and the fort would not be reinforced. The *Brooklyn* was ordered to stand by and not land troops. Thus a very troubled truce began similar to the postponed confrontration at Fort Sumter at Charleston. No time limit was set on this executive agreement between the Buchanan administration and, by then, private citizen Mallory.

Both sides had bought some time. [4] Jefferson Davis and a majority of southern senators were not ready for war to start in January over Fort Pickens. In spite of their collective opinion, however, the truce was a source of real embarrassment to Mallory. His appointment as secretary of the Confederate navy was opposed because of his role in the truce. Mallory himself, as secretary, stated that "it was a fatal error not to have taken Pickins" *[sic]*. [5] He justified his position against the "lying demogogues" by stating that he did all he could before Slemmer retired to Pickens and that he was just a private citizen who gave the administration "a fright." [6]

For President Buchanan, however, the Pickens true was not only successful but consistent with other policies. [7] He had

3. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series 1, Vol. 1, 445. Hereinafter referred to as *Official Records.*
4. John Bassett Moore, ed., *Works of James Buchanan,* 12 vols. (New York, 1908-1911), XI, 285-86. Buchanan states that Scott and others understood the truce to exist only for the duration of the Peace Convention assembling in Washington. Others date the truce to March 3. The best studies of the decisions on both sides to break the truce are in John Shipley Tilley, *Lincoln Takes Command* (Chapel Hill, 1941), and Grady McWhitney, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat* (New York, 1969), I.
5. Stephen R. Mallory to unknown, March 22, 1861, *American Historical Review,* XII (October 1906), 104.
6. *Ibid.,* 104-08.
7. *The Works of James Buchanan,* XI, 285-86, implies that Pickens could not have been defended and therefore the truce was a favorable one.

already revealed a capacity to postpone decisions or showdown. Believing that the states had no right to secede, he felt that the federal government had no right to use force to keep them from seceding. Therefore, the best solution to any problem was to overlook or postpone. The troubled truce for Pickens and Sumter saved Buchanan from decision and cascaded the problem into Lincoln's hands. When the President was inaugurated, debate continued on federal policy. The fate of the Pickens truce would be worked out as Lincoln decided, enunciated, and enforced policy on all federal property in seceded states. The President did not want to provoke conflict, but he felt he had to do something other than make what he considered a total retreat from federal property. Lincoln also believed pro-union strength would keep secession limited only to the lower South. He listened to advice from many quarters, including a persuasiveargument from Secretary of State William H. Seward to give up Fort Sumter and to make a symbolic stand for the Union at Fort Pickens. Pickens or Sumter was one of the first decisions Lincoln was forced to make. Why Seward argued for Pickens, and why Lincoln rejected his advice, needs a new appraisal. The course and fate of the secession movement would be determined in part by this decision.

While the truce of Pickens was being worked out, Senator Seward was in Washington acting as untitled head of the Republican party and self-designated savior of the Union. Among his other self-appointed chores, he stated that "I have assumed a sort of dictatorship for defense" [8] Seward relied for military advice on Captain Montgomery C. Meigs. [9] They had been conversing and corresponding since the early 1850s. Captain Meigs had looked to Seward as an ally in his work on the Capitol dome, and he had served in Florida long enough to develop a special interest in her forts. As early as November 1860, he had written to General Winfield Scott urging that Florida forts needed safeguarding because they were ripe for plucking. [10]

For further opinion that Pickens could have been taken, see Julien C. Yonge, "Pensacola in the War for Southern Independence," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXVII (January-April 1959), 359.

8. Henry W. Temple, "William Seward," in Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy,* 10 vols. (New York, 1928), VII, 19.
9. This relationship was noted by Gideon Welles, Frederic Bancroft, and others, but not analyzed.
10. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida,* 70-71.

General Scott did not respond to Meigs' request. However, Seward did act to reinforce Fort Pickens as soon as he was in a position to do so. He used as his agent the same Captain Meigs who had noted to him in a letter written in July 1860, that "I have never spoken with you without feeling strengthened in patriotism and devotion to the right and hope that in all my future career I may be able to merit and to retain the approbation which has thus far encouraged me." [11] Seward's Fort Pickens policy was definitely determined by the advice of Meigs, who received not just approbation but a generalship several months after successfully playing a role for Seward in the future Fort Pickens reinforcement.

While Lincoln remained in Sprinfigeld, Illinois, Seward was in Washington, and he was looked upon as spokesman for the incoming administration. His advice to the President-elect in the eventful January days was that Lincoln would meet a hostile confederacy when inaugurated and would have to "reduce it by force or conciliation." [12] Seward argued that "every thought that we think ought to be conciliatory, forbearing and paternal." [13] Seward had chosen the path of conciliator, though not wanting to be called a compromiser of principle. He tried to disregard advice given to him by Northerners, like Charles Francis Adams, who advised against compromising even one inch, for "Slavery and Freedom can no more harmonize in a Republican government than an acid and alkali in a bottle. One or the other, after a struggle, predominates, but first a struggle will ensue." [14] Thurlow Weed, Seward's mentor, added his advice that Fort Sumter must be provisioned in order not to provide the disgrace of retreat.[15] In contrast, Henry Dana Ward advised giving up Fort Sumter because "the union feeling both north and south is strong enough to crush out secession if it can only have time to work." [16] In addition, Seward received mail from as far

11. M. C. Meigs to William H. Seward, July 2, 1860, William H. Seward Collection, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester. Hereinafter referred to as Seward Papers. See also background correspondence revealing Meigs-Seward relationships, August 14, 1856, February 11, December 12, 1857.
12. Seward to Lincoln, January 27, 1861, Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress. Hereinafter referred to a Lincoln Papers.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Charles Francis Adams to Seward, February 9, 1861, Seward Papers.
15. Thurlow Weed to Seward, March 12, 1861, Seward Papers.
16. Henry Dana Ward to Seward, March 9, 1861, Seward Papers.

away as New Orleans expressing the hope that he would be the leading conciliator to give the southern union men a chance to have their influence felt. [17] This latter advice, Seward pursued with great diligence. He was the chief contact man with a group of southern statesmen attempting to find a peaceful means of resolving the impending conflict before the inauguration of Lincoln. [18] And he had urged just after the Florida and other southern senators left the senate that their committee membership be reserved for them, so they could resume the seats whenever they wished. [19]

After March 4, real confusion existed as to whether the Pickens truce was still in effect. [20] The truce had been strained for some time even before Lincoln's inauguration. Upon Lieutenant Slemmer's complaint, Colonel Chase had stopped erecting batteries aimed in the direction of Fort Pickens. However, Chase's successor, General Braxton Bragg, used the truce interlude to build batteries, to enlarge the army to 5,000 well-trained men, and to manufacture shot and shell. He procured $40,000 which he used to attempt to gain Fort Pickens through bribing federal troops.[22] Bragg took such actions "as a means of defense, and especially so under the threats of the new administration." [23] It has also been shown that Jefferson Davis hoped to do at Pickens what Lincoln has been accused of doing at Sumter-maneuvering the other side to fire the first shot. [24] But Pickens could only be captured by taking the offensive initiative of a ladder assault. War thus came to Fort Sumter, according to one historian, "only because the Confederates were neither subtle enough nor strong enough to begin at Fort Pickens." [25]

17. See, for example, Thomas S. Bacon to Seward, February 17, 1861, Seward Papers. Glyndon P. Van Deusen, *William H. Seward* (New York, 1967), 276-77, notes that John A. Gilmer, North Carolina member of Congress, was a significant influence on Seward's acceptance of this argument.
18. Frederic Bancroft, *Life of William H. Seward,* 2 vols. (Gloucester, 1899), II, 16, credits Seward "almost alone" with saving the Union on March 4.
19. Occie Clubs, "Stephen Russell Mallory, The Elder" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1936), 219.
20. Convincing information exists that both sides were being less than honest on the question. Tilley, *Lincoln Takes Command,* and McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg.*
21. *Official Records,* Series 1, Vol. 1, 359. See pages 360-65, for troubles in keeping the truce.
22. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida,* 112-13.
23. *Official Records,* Series 1, Vol. 1, 362.
24. Grady McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg,* I, 167-69, 172-73.
25. *Ibid.,* 173.

Meanwhile, the federals near Pensacola acted consistent with the truce while Washington leaders were deciding when to break it. Major Tower, aboard the *Sabine* off Pensacola, informed Captain Meigs on March 27 that he went in and out of Fort Pickens whenever he chose, but did not reside there because Captain H. A. Adams on the *Brooklyn* and Lieutenant Slemmer thought it might be considered a violation of the truce. [26] Lieutenant Slemmer tried to maintain the truce spirit by returning all runaway Negroes who sought freedom and protection in Fort Pickens. [27]

In Washington, however, the decision to break the truce by reinforcing Pickens had already been made. General Scott on March 12 and directed the troops on the *Brooklyn* to disembark. His order reached Pensacola on March 31, but Captain Adams would not accept an army order. A naval authorization to land the troops was not received until April 12, the day Fort Sumter was attacked. While General Scott was ordering the *Brooklyn* to land troops, Seward was also involved in organizing reinforcements. Seward had received advice from Captain Meigs that "Porter should be ordered to take the *Powhatan* and sail from N. Y. into Pensacola Harbor at once." [28] Seward took his advice, and during a conference Meigs and Seward had with Lincoln, Seward secured the President's consent to order the *Powhatan* fitted out to reinforce Fort Pickens without the knowledge of Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles. This created a crisis because just as the *Powhatan* was ready to sail, Welles ordered it retained for Sumter. Meigs telegraphed to Seward from New York City: "What is to be done?" [29] The issue was supposedly straightened out in Welles' favor in a meeting with Lincoln, but because Seward countermanded a presidential

26. Meigs to Seward, mistakingly dated March 1, 1861, Seward Papers.
27. *Official Records,* Series 1, Vol. 1, 362.
28. Meigs to Seward, March 1, 1861, Seward Papers. Colonel Harvey Brown was actually given command with Captain Meigs accompanying him. See *Official Records,* Series 1, Vol. 1, 365-66. Allan Nevins, *War For the Union* (New York, 1959), thought Seward wanted to give up both Sumter and Pickens, but Van Deusen, *Seward,* 600, disagrees with this thesis.
29. Meigs to Seward, April 5, 1861, Seward Papers. Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, *William Henry Seward* (Boston, 1899), 235-36, erroneously claims that Seward had little or nothing to do with the *Powhatan* incident. Meigs' diary explanation of these incidents is given in "General M. C. Meigs on the conduct of the Civil War," *American Historical Review,* XXVI (January 1921), 285-303.

order with his own signature, the *Powhatan* continued on April 6 to reinforce Pickens.

Seward had given Captain Meigs $10,000 cash to buy provisions and to pave the way for reinforcement. [30] Apparently Seward had a special slush fund with which to run the navy. He was, without question, the individual chiefly responsible for pushing and arranging the reinforcement of Fort Pickens. Secretary Welles, petulant about this state department intrusion into navy jurisdiction, accused Seward of trying to divert ships from Sumter to Pickens. [31] The *Brooklyn* and *Powhatan* incidents were classical examples of the state, navy, and war departments following the Biblical injunction of "not letting thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth."

Lincoln's decision to reinforce Pickens was based upon Seward's urging and Meig's advice, but was not a fulfillment of Seward's desired policy. Seward had argued for several weeks that Pickens and not Sumter be reinforced. On March 15 he wrote out his arguments for the President, still urging that conciliation was the only feasible and promising stance. Seward felt that it would be 'unwise and inhuman" not to attempt to provision Fort Sumter if it could be done peacefully. [32] But Seward was convinced that the attempt would "provoke conflict, and probably initiate a civil war." [33] He argued that Sumter was being held only because as United States property it was "a monument of their authority and sovereignty," but that it was useless as a base of operations. [34] Seward was in no way alone in urging Lincoln to give up Sumter. Five members of the cabinet expressed the same point of view on March 15; only two were for provisioning Sumter. However, during the

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30. Meigs to Seward, May 10, 1861, Seward Papers. Meigs returned $6,229.50 to Seward.
31. John T. Moore, Introduction, *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston, 1911), 21ff. Welles' later *Galaxy* article charges against Seward are included in his *Lincoln and Seward* (Freeport, 1874). In the literature on this subject, no notice has been taken of the fact that Welles was willing to give up ten ships to the revenue service on March 20, 1861, including the *Powhatan* and three ships in Pensacola, the *Brooklyn, Sabine,* and *Wyandotte*. See Welles to Lincoln, March 20, 1861, Lincoln Papers. Welles shows complete naivete about giving up the ships needed for defense of Pickens and destroys his argument that the loss of the *Powhatan* to Pickens doomed the Sumter expedition to failure.
32. Seward to Lincoln, March 15, 1861. Lincoln Papers.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*

next two weeks all but Seward were persuaded to supply the South Carolina fortress. Only Montgomery Blair opposed provisioning Pickens. General Scott suggested that Lincoln relinquish Pickens as a conciliatory gesture. All of the President's advisors, even Seward, were giving up hope of solving the secession crisis by conciliation. [35] Seward, after the March 29 defeat of his viewpoint in the Cabinet, strongly set forth in a memorandum to Lincoln his belief that Sumter and Pickens were different situations:

> My system is built upon this idea as a ruling one, namely that we must
> *Change the question before the Public from one upon Slavery, or about Slavery*
> for a question upon *Union or Disunion*
> In other words, from what would be regarded as a Party question to one of *Patriotism or Union*
> The Occupation or evacuation of Fort Sumter, although not in fact a slavery, or a party question is so *regarded.* Witness, the temper manifested by the Republicans in the Free States, and even by Union men in the South.
> I would therefore terminate it as a safe means for changing the issue. I deem it fortunate that the last Administration created the necessity.
> For the rest. I would simultaneously defend and reinforce all the Forts in the Gulf, and have the Navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade. Put the Island of Key West under Martial Law.
> This will raise distinctly the question of *Union or Disunion.* I would maintain every fort and possession in the South. [36]

Lincoln answered Seward immediately: "Again, I do not perceive how the re-inforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery, or party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national, and patriotic one." [37]

35. Salmon P. Chase revealed that the cabinet members' change of mind was based on the conviction that peaceful solutions were no longer feasible. See David Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase* (New York, 1954), 10.
36. Roy P. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* 8 vols. (New Brunswick, 1953), IV, 317.
37. *Ibid.,* IV, 316. Patrick Sowle, "A Reappraisal of Sewards' Memorandum of April 1, 1816, to Lincoln," *Journal of Southern History,* XXXIII (May 1967), 234 ff., corrects the Bancroft story by revealing that Seward, Thurlow Weed, and Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times,* expected Lincoln to approve the memorandum and planned to publish the results and push Seward's leadership.

The reason usually advanced why Seward wanted to give up Sumter and make a stand at Pickens stresses political power relations of Seward with Lincoln. Seward had fully expected to become President and did not wholly respect the gangling backwoods upstart who had taken his job. Seward had played a role before the inauguration which he intended to continue-running the government behind the figure of a President he considered much less capable than himself. When the rest of the cabinet turned against his advice on March 29, Seward's role in the administration and his political reputation were at stake. He had committed himself prematurely by statements to Southerners and Northerners that Sumter would be abandoned, so the decision to reinforce that fort was now extremely embarassing. Therefore, according to Frederic Bancroft, chief exponent of this interpretation, Seward presented to the President as "A last, desperate effort" his thoughts on domestic and foreign policy, which "resembled a reckless invention of a mind driven to desperate extremes, as a sole means of escape from ruin." [38] Traditionally interpreted, Seward's political role was at stake and this is supposed to explain his Pickens policy, even if he never admitted it himself. Seward, however, offered several reasons for his Pickens policy which have not been seriously analyzed.

Seward's desire to reinforce Pickens and let the southern forces have Sumter was due in part to practical military considerations. He believed that Pickens was defensible and that Sumter could not be reinforced and defended. Since there were not enough troops and ships to protect all military properties, what was available should be committed to Pickens. General Scott sometimes supported this position. Scott, very old, very fat, and very inconsistent, argued at one time during these crucial months that all forts should be reinforced and defended and also argued that all forts should be abandoned. Even so, a significant number of military advisors, including Captain Meigs of course, backed Seward's belief that the defense of Pickens was feasible, while the defense of Sumter was not. Pickens was defensible with few men in the fort as long as aided

38. Bancroft, *Seward,* 132-34. Van Deusen's superior biography does not analyze Seward in respect to the subject of this article.

by enough ships and men available nearby.[39]

Another reason Seward advanced for choosing Pickens was symbolic. Lincoln dismissed the difference in symbolic ingredients rather curtly, and as a result so have past commentators. But Seward seriously advanced the idea of symbolically exchanging Pickens for Sumter. To him, the question with any federal fort was not just one of property, it involved the principle of union itself. Seward had already tried to convince Lincoln that Sumter was worthwhile to the Union only as a symbol. But to Seward Pickens was also a symbol, and it was more useful than Sumter because it was less explosive, more defensible, and more necessary due to the disturbances in Santo Domingo, Mexico, and Texas. The Confederate Congress had already expressed the South's desire to secure both Sumter and Pickens. But from Seward's point of view Pickens could become a purer symbol of the Union and the war could be limited, especially if Sam Houston managed to swing Texas with the Union. Pickens was a more smoldering issue and afforded the extra time that Seward and the peace-unionists wanted.

No deep thinking into the uses of religious or national symbolisms preceded Seward's attempt to save the Union by substitution of symbols. Indeed, Seward's religious attitudes were superficial. Instead, the politician had manipulated national symbols as part of his learned habit on the stump. He was correct in viewing a federal fort to be as much a symbol of the Union as the American flag itself. However, the rebel leaders from January to April 1861, were taking the initiative in choosing where the symbolic confrontation would take place. Confederate leaders rejected Pickens by proposing and abiding by the truce of Pickens. This is the real significance of the truce. In the meantime, Sumter had become more and more an inflamatory situation, and the eyes of the nation were riveted on Charleston harbor. General Beauregard took command and the people of both sections were aroused. Fort Sumter became the symbol because both sides were more emotionally committed there.

Seward's April 1 memorandum to Lincoln was also concerned with foreign policy questions. Not only was this his chief

39. Lengthy analyses of Pickens' defense needs were provided Seward in letters from Meigs, April 18, 1861, and from Washington, May 17, 18, 1861, Seward Papers.

concern as secretary of state, but months before assuming office he had entertained foreign policy or foreign war as a solution to internal stress.[40] And the day before his memorandum, he had received information that Spain was starting a possible military action into Santo Domingo. A revolutionary junta had proclaimed for Spain, and Seward expected it to try to annex the island. In direct response to this and the European threat to Mexico, both areas even then being of primary concern under the Monroe Doctrine, the secretary of state reacted by arguing that the fleet should be brought back from foreign waters and relocated in the Gulf of Mexico. Explanations were to be demanded, and a foreign war was contemplated. In this context, Fort Pickens assumed an even larger significance to Seward. To the revisionist historians of the twentieth century who are examining the relationship of foreign war to domestic stress, the argument that Seward advanced becomes even more meaningful.[41]

In the great debate over the crisis of 1861, Fort Sumter looms large, and Fort Pickens figures only as an attempted antidote. Lincoln has often been accused of attempting to provoke the South to fire the first shot at Sumter.[42] Seward is looked upon more favorably, partly because he was right about the inability of the Union to reinforce Sumter. But the converse side of this conclusion is not necessarily correct. Seward's conciliatory policy, including substituting Pickens for Sumter, had little chance of success. His attempt to conciliate had a very bad press in the South.[43] "Higher Law" Seward was not trusted as "the great pacificator." And he offered no compromise; all he offered was a last-chance symbolic substitution of forts. Lincoln was correct in curtly writing that he did "not perceive" how it would work. By overcommitting himself too late to a too superficial trick of substituting Pickens for Sumter, Seward failed in his role as the nation's mediator.

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40. Van Deusen, *Seward,* 247-48.
41. Recent revisionist writers on foreign war as a solution to domestic crisis include Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, 1963).
42. For an example, see Charles W. Ramsdell, "Lincoln and Fort Sumter," *Journal of Southern History,* III (August 1937), 260-88.
43. Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Southern Editorials on Secession* (Gloucester, 1931), 164-67, 395-97, 404-06, 411-13.

The opening of war over Fort Sumter did not end discussion about Fort Pickens' role during the crisis days. The personalities involved provide a denouement. Seward's Pickens policy came to public view in a postwar debate forced by Gideon Welles. Not only in his *Diary,* but in other publications, Welles rehashed the Sumter-Pickens debate. He claimed that Lincoln and his cabinet knew nothing about the truce of Pickens when first in office. Since Seward was in Turkey at the time, General Meigs, the man so well rewarded for his Fort Pickens role, came to his friend's public defense with evidence that should have convinced even Mr. Welles. [44]

One other personality involved in the Fort Pickens incident suffered even more criticism than Seward. Stephen R. Mallory had also attempted to avoid war through a Pickens policy even though subjected "to the odium of the extremists." [45] This attack on him for the truce rankled Mallory so much that he wrote to his wife from prison after the war about how his "interference to prevent the attack on Fort Pickens brought down the thunders of denunciation." [46] Mrs. Mallory was apparently so much concerned with local criticism that, while still in Bridgeport, Connecticut, she wrote to him in Pensacola to ask whether the town was still against him for the Pickens truce. [47] Mallory responded to this question by saying, "You ask how the people treat me. Kindly, I think, as much as their condition and nature permit." He indicated that at a public meeting, "they called me out most heartedly." [48]

If the Pensacola public called him out most heartedly, Seward generously helped Mallory out of prison. As soon as he was put in jail, Mallory wrote to Seward for support in gaining a pardon. He also asked his wife to visit both Seward and President Johnson, "both of whom know me well, and with both of

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44. Meigs to Seward, April 6, 1871, Seward Papers. Meigs wrote to explain to Seward what evidence he was gathering for publications against Welles' *Galaxy* article.
45. Mallory to his wife, June 12, 1865, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Occie Clubbs, "Stephen Russell Mallory, The Elder," provides a powerful defense of Mallory against his critics, revising his reputation in a manner similar to and amplified by Joseph T. Durkin, *Stephen R. Mallory: Confederate Navy Chief* (Chapel Hill, 1954).
46. *Ibid.*
47. Durkin, *Stephen R. Mallory,* 163-64.
48. Mallory to his wife, September 1866, Pensacola Historical Museum.

whom my relations have ever been kind and cordial." [49] Seward did all that he could as "proof of an old esteem," [50] and Mallory appreciated the kindness shown. In a letter to his wife he noted with a tone of appreciation that Seward had removed his father-in-law, Don Francisco Moreno, as Spanish counsel in Pensacola for causes only of "expedience," overlooking charges that Moreno had helped the Confederates cause. [51] The day after Mallory officially received his pardon, he wrote to thank Seward for his "interposition," stating in his usual Victorian fashion that, "I trust, my dr. Sir, that any who may bear a drop of my blood in his veins may, in years to come, regard himself as having 'eaten your salt,' and as owing a debt of gratitude to your posterity, to be loyally, faithfully shown." [52] Thus, Pensacola's Mallory, who did all he could to peacefully bring about secession from the Union, expressed his great regard for Seward, who did all he could do to peacefully preserve the union.

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49. Mallory to his wife, July 20, 1865, typescript copy in Pensacola Historical Museum.
50. Seward to Mallory, July 3, 1865, Seward Papers.
51. Mallory to his wife, June 22, 1866, Pensacola Historical Museum. The story of Don Francisco Moreno's help to Confederates is told in William C. Holbrook, *A Narrative of the Services of the Officers and Enlisted Men of the 7th Regiment of Vermont Volunteers (Veterans) from 1862 to 1866* (New York, 1882), 128 ff.
52. Mallory to Seward, October 1, 1867, Seward Papers. A comparison of this letter with one to President Johnson (Mallory to Andrew Johnson, October 1, 1867, Papers of Andrew Johnson, Library of Congress, indicates how clearly Mallory felt a debt to Seward for his pardon.

HISTORY OF THE BLOCKHOUSE ON THE WITHLACOOCHEE

by TOM KNOTTS *

THE ANIMOSITY BETWEEN the Florida Seminoles and the American settlers moving in from Georgia and the Carolinas which had been brewing for decades erupted into bloody conflict on December 28, 1835, when Major Francis L. Dade's command was massacred near Wahoo Swamp, while enroute from Fort Brooke to Fort King. [1] Osceola and a detachment of warriors murdered Wiley Thompson, Indian agent at Fort King, and Constantine Smith the same day as Dade's massacre. Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch, commander of the regular forces in Florida, clashed with the Indians three days later as he attempted to cross the Withlacoochee River. The battle was not decisive and both sides withdrew. Two months later a unit of nearly 1,000 men under Major General Edmund P. Gaines was attacked near Clinch's battleground on the Withlacoochee. The Seminole force, reportedly over 1,100 strong, surrounded Gaines troops for eight days. A rescue party led by General Clinch ended the siege March 6, 1836. [2]

In late January 1836, Major General Winfield Scott, commanding the Army of the East, was placed in charge of the Florida operations. Scott moved from Washington to Florida to set up logistic support and to formulate a plan of battle. By the time he arrived in March, he had developed a plan which he hoped would end the war. There were three forces available in Florida: one at Fort Drane, another at Fort Brooke, and a third at Volusia. [3] Each was supposed to move toward

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1. Wahoo Swamp is along the east bank of the Withlacoochee River in present-day Sumter County. Fort Brooke was located on Tampa Bay at the mouth of the Hillsborough River. Fort King was near present-day Ocala.
2. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, 1967), 108-12, 147-50; Rembert W. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville, 1963), 123-24.
3. Fort Drane was located in northwestern Marion County near present-day Irvine. Volusia was on the St. Johns River near the south end of Lake George.

the cove of the Withlacoochee where it was believed the enemy could be entrapped and defeated. [4]

Such a large scale operation called for considerable food supplies, and Major John McLemore at Fort Dabney near Suwannee Old Town on the Suwannee was placed in charge of logistics. In a private letter to Colonel James Gadsden, General Scott's adjutant, McLemore pointed out that there were stores available at his post and a boat suitable for the expedition to the Withlacoochee. [5] The letter was received at Fort Drane on March 22 or 23, [6] and answered March 25. Gadsden was very explicit and covered the situation thoroughly in his communication. He pointed out that the three armies would probably meet near the cove by March 29 or 30, and since they might be detained in the area for several days, food supplies under McLemore's command would be needed. Therefore, Gadsden directed Major McLemore to transport his corn and beef via water to a point near the rapids on the Withlacoochee. McLemore was to rendezvous by March 30, but if no contact was made by April 4, he could withdraw, since the forces would then be moving south. [7] Had Gadsden's order been followed explicitly by Major McLemore many difficulties could have been avoided.

McLemore had anticipated that Gadsden would have accepted his offer. A company of militia had been mustered in mid-March in Jefferson County to man the post on the Withlachochee. Its officers included: James M. K. Holloman, captain; Joseph McCants, first lieutenant; L. B. Walker, second lieutenant; and Samuel W. Barrington, third lieutenant. [8] These were the men at Fort Dabney when Gadsden's letter arrived, and in accordance with the instructions it contained, they prepared twelve beeves and gathered 600-700 bushels of corn to take on the expedition.

Colonel Gadsden's letter of instructions allowed only five days from the time that he wrote it and the time that Major

4. The cove was the area embracing Lake Tsala Apopka.
5. John T. Sprague, *Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 153.
6. Myer M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (Charleston, 1836; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 198.
7. Sprague, *Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War,* 153-54.
8. Samuel Pasco, "Jefferson County, Florida, 1827-1910," Part II. *Florida Historical Quarterly,* VII (January 1929), 238-40.

McLemore was supposed to be on the Withlacoochee River. First of all, Gadsden's order had to travel by military messenger nearly fifty miles. Then the supplies had to be placed aboard the boat and everything made ready for the expedition. It then took time to travel down the Suwannee, around the Gulf, and up the Withlacoochee - a distance of 100 miles. At that time the Withlacoochee's lower reaches were unexplored and unchartered, making an even more difficult journey.

This all took longer than the time alloted, and McLemore did not reach the Withlacoochee until April 4. [9] This was the last day that he was supposed to remain in the area unless he received orders to the contrary. McLemore, however, decided to construct a blockhouse and to leave a force of approximately forty men; thinking, perhaps, that such an armed fortification eventually would be of some assistance to the army. [10] After all the work and preparation of getting the supplies to the Withlacoochee, these men who volunteered to remain felt that it was worth the chance they were taking to stay a few days longer than authorized. While the blockhouse was being constructed, everything was quiet, and there was no interference from the Indians. General Scott later testified at a court of inquiry that the erection of the blockhouse at this late date was patriotic zeal pushed too far." [11] Colonel Gadsden, however, pointed out in his deposition that Major McLemore had returned with part of his command to the Suwannee in accordance with his orders, but that he could have brought the whole of his forces, had not a part of them preferred remaining and braving the enemy. They voluntarily sought the hazard. [12] When McLemore departed the blockhouse, he promised to return and relieve the post in eight or ten days. [13]

Subsequent events at the blockhouse were related in a letter written by Dr. Lawrence, a surgeon who was present at the seige:

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9. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns,* 199.
10. *House Executive Documents,* 25 Cong., 2nd sess., No. 18, 1838, p. 451. Hereinafter referred to as *House Document* 78.
11. Caroline May Brevard, *History of Florida from the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times,* 2 vols. (DeLand, 1924), I, 139. By order of the secretary of war a court of inquiry assembled in November 1836, at Frederick, Maryland, to investigate the failure of Scott and Gaines in Florida.
12. *Senate Documents,* 24 Cong., 2nd sess., No., 224, 1837, p. 71. Hereinafter referred to as *Senate Document* 224.
13. Sprague, *Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War,* 154.

We had just completed building the block-house, and dug out a spring near the edge of the fort, when, on the morning of the 9th of April, at a little before dawn of day, we were attacked by the Indians, who had encompassed us on three sides, and were in number about 150 or 200. The engagement lasted one hour and three quarters, when they found out to their sorrow, that our reception was not only too warm, but that they had ventured too near us without due reflection. On the next day, we had one man [14] killed on his post by an Indian rifle, fired from the opposite side of the river. On the 15 April, we were attacked by a body of the savages who had completely surrounded us, and whose number we computed at 4 to 500, though we have since heard that Powell [15] had 1000 to 1500 of them. This was the hottest engagement we had during our stay on the Ouithlacoochee. They fired their guns by hundreds at the same moment at our block-house, and succeeded in taking our only means of escape, our boat-which they took down the river and destroyed after the battle. The engagement continued two hours and 45 minutes, and we had three men slightly wounded.

On the 24th, we had a very severe battle, in which they displayed their ingenuity by shooting fire-arrows on fire upon the roof of the house, which destroyed the roof and left us exposed to the inclemency of the weather. This arrow-firing was performed by 26 of their men, whilst about 3 to 500 used their guns. We had, on this occasion, two or three of our men wounded. We probably killed 40 or 50 of the Indians. The night after the battle, we heard their chief hail us and say, "that he was going away in the morning, and would trouble us no more." He kept his promise very well though he did give us about 100 guns the next morning, ere he left. Our captain Holloman, was killed on the 3 May, whilst endeavoring to fortify and strengthen our position. The Indians continued to give us a passing shot from 50 to 100 guns, every five or six days, though he kept a spy upon us at other times. The officers were 21 days living on corn, without salt or meat, and the men about 28 days. [16]

The troops in the blockhouse realized from the size and ferocity of the Indian attacks that ammunition would be a

14. Eli Sealy was killed on April 13 according to Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns,* 199.
15. Powell was a name commonly used when speaking of Osceola.
16. Samuel G. Drake, *Aboriginal Races of North America* (New York, 1880), 431-32.

problem if not properly conserved. According to one observer, "From the commencement of the siege, not a single shot was fired unless at a particular object." [17] The marksmanship of the troops was so accurate that after a chief was shot the four or five Indians who sprang to his assistance were downed with a single volley. The Indians believed that witchcraft and silver bullets were making the small band invincible. [18]

The casualties at the blockhouse were light considering the amount of fighting that took place over a period of six weeks. Captain Holloman and one other were killed, and five soldiers were injured slightly. [19] The extent of Indian casualties is not known. According to John Bemrose, a soldier stationed at Fort Drane at the time: "The Indians lost severely before this little fort, and ascribed their losses to witchcraft." [20]

Apparently while the three wings of the army were searching west-central Florida, according to General Scott's plan, many of the Indians that were normally found in that area were on the banks of the lower Withlacoochee harassing the small band at the blockhouse.

The troops, after a month of this continual attack, knew that plans had miscarried since Major McLemore had not returned as he had promised. The officers considered at length various methods of possible escape. The flatboat had been destroyed by the Indians making escape by water impossible. and to try to move overland was much too hazardous. It was about forty miles through Indian country to Fort Drane. Ammunition and food were almost exhausted; the meat was rancid and the corn moldy after exposure to the rain. Finally in desperation a plan was devised. On May 10, three men were selected by lot to go for help. At 11 o'clock that night they embarked in a canoe, which leaked badly and which required constant bailing. [21] The Indians saw the canoe leave and they tried to halt it, but the men were able to reach the Gulf before daylight. The Indians

17. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns,* 199.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.,* 199-200. Lieutenant L. B. Walker took over command after Holloman's death.
20. John Bemrose, *Reminescences of the Second Seminole War,* ed. John K. Mahon (Gainesville, 1966), 91.
21. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns,* 199. John L.. Williams, *Territory of Florida,* (New York, 1837; facsimile edition Gainesville, 1962), 244, places the date as May 10.

had been alerted and were on the lookout for the soldiers when they arrived at the mouth of the Suwannee. When the canoe was fired on, the soldiers decided to stay in the Gulf for safety sake. They continued in a northwesterly direction, arriving finally at St. Marks about May 20.

In the meantime Major McLemore, after leaving the volunteers at the Withlacoochee blockhouse in April, had returned to the Suwannee. There he was stricken with fever and died. [22] His death thus removed the link with the blockhouse, and no one outside knew of his plans to return there. The men who accompanied him back to the Suwannee in the meantime had been released after the major's death and they had quickly gone home. [23] Colonel Gadsden in his deposition stated:

> His [McLemore's] successor, not advised of his intentions, never sent the boat back, and, to the above melancholy event [McLemore's death] may be justly attributed most of the misfortunes and sufferings of the gallant little band in the blockhouse. [24]

Generals Scott and Clinch had crossed the Withlacoochee on March 28 and 29. Finding only a few scattered Indians near the cove and no large concentrations, the army moved south and away from the blockhouse. The other two armies were never near the blockhouse during their operation. By April 10 Scott's forces, having failed to locate the enemy, were on Tampa Bay preparing to return to their former posts. Scott planned to accompany Brigadier General Abraham Eustis, commanding Left Wing Army Force, on his return to Volusia and the St. Johns River and St. Augustine. In the meantime General Clinch was to return to Fort Drane.

In a letter from Tampa Bay to Adjutant General Jones in Washington, Scott detailed his plans for his forces:

> The right wing, under Clinch . . . will march by the route it came over; . . . re-enter the cove . . . and then march to the mouth of the Withlacoochee (not yet visited) and there

22. Williams, *Territory of Florida*, 243.
23. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, 199.
24. *Senate Document* 224, 19.

> receive from the vessels and boats to be sent from this place a fresh supply of subsistence for men and horses . . . . Having accomplished the objects of the march to the mouth of that river, he will either cross there or return to Blodgett's ferry, at Camp Izard [25] . . . and return to Fort Drane, observing the right bank of the Withlacoochee in ascending, as far as his renewed means of subsistence may allow. [26]

Unfortunately for the men in the blockhouse these orders were modified. A man from the U. S. cutter *Dexter*, recently arrived at Tampa Bay, explained the difficulties that would likely be encountered should General Clinch try to march a force to the mouth of the Withlacoochee. This intelligence caused Scott to modify his original plan, as he explained further to the adjutant-general:

> Since writing the above, I have been forced, from our ignorance of the mouth of the Withlacoochee, to modify the instructions given to Clinch. From Camp Cooper [27] he is instructed to take a trail that we observed (coming down) which leads into and towards the head of the cove . . . . The vessels and boats prepared for the mouth of the Withlacoochee will take Major Read and his Florida battalion to that place, whence he will survey the mouth, and examine the river to a point as high as practicable. [28]

The blockhouse would have been in General Clinch's line of march under the original orders. It could still be found if Major Read ascended the river as ordered. Apparently no one at Tampa Bay was particularly concerned about the Withlacoochee post, however; none of the orders issued even mention the possibility of a garrison existing there. Colonel Gadsden's orders to Read, dated April 14, 1836 directed him:

> To embark as early as practicable . . . you will embark with your whole battalion, including invalids and sick for the mouth of the Withlacoochee, and that you come to anchor in the nearest and safest accessible harbor to the

25. Camp Izard was located on the Withlacoochee River in southwestern Marion County.
26. Winfield Scott to R. Jones, April 12, 1836, *House Document* 78, 419.
27. Camp Cooper was located near present-day Brooksville.
28. Scott to Jones, April 12, 1836, *House Document* 78, 423.

> mouth of the stream, and that you proceed with your effective force, leaving your sick and invalids on board, with the boats at command, to survey and examine its entrance, and to penetrate as far as practicable, and consistent with the security of your command . . . You will preserve notes of your observations . . . detailing minutely the character of the anchorage at the mouth of the Withlacoochee; the navigability of the river for boats; the probable distance to which it may be penetrated; the character of its banks, and the facilities generally afforded for the forming of depots, with a view to supplying an army operating hereafter on or near its waters. This duty performed, you will proceed to St. Marks, Florida, in the transport, where your command will be honorably discharged. [29]

According to Major Read, the Florida battalion was in poor shape when it reached the mouth of the Withlacoochee on April 18. There was much sickness among the men, the water was bad, and medical supplies were scarce. Even so, he assembled a group and ascended the river in two cutters, commanded by Midshipmen Read and Drake, from Vandalia. Major Read believed the Indian sailors aboard the schooners were familiar with the Withlacoochee, but even using "ardent spirits," he was unable to gain any worthwhile intelligence. [30] Two or three miles above the bar he saw smoke caused by a fire some three miles above them covering a great area. Feeling that it was imprudent to proceed further upstream, Read returned to the transports and set sail for St. Marks. [31] After reaching St. Marks, the volunteers of the Florida battalion were released from duty.

When Major Read arrived in Tallahassee on April 22, he reported that he had found part of a flatboat at the mouth of the Withlacoochee. Governor Call had learned that Major McLemore had established the post on the river and had left a flatboat there, and he was now very concerned as to the welfare and safety of the men at the blockhouse. Major Read expressed his anxiety in a letter to General Scott, but pointed out that he had been unaware of the garrison's presence on the Withlacoochee at the time he was there. [32]

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29. James Gadsden to Leigh Read, April 14, 1836, *ibid.,* 434-35.
30. *Ibid.,* 468-69.
31. Sprague, *Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War,* 149.
32. Read to Scott, April 27, 1836, *House Document* 78, 470.

Governor Call, realizing the urgency of the situation, immediately dispatched a letter to Major McCants who had assumed command at Suwannee Old Town after McLemore's death. He told him that a flatboat at the blockhouse had been destroyed, and that from the number of fires in the area, he suspected that there were many Indians present. Call also expressed fear that the Indians had destroyed the garrison, and he ordered McCants to prepare a rescue operation. If the commander at Fort Drane approved the mission, he was to proceed by boat to the Withlacoochee. [33] At the same time Call sent a message to Fort Drane directing the commander there to begin planning a rescue operation by water from Suwannee Old Town, if an overland expedition was impossible. [34]

All concerned had now been warned that the blockhouse, if not already destroyed, was in dire need of assistance. But there were many problems. Governor Call was not sure how long the commanding general wanted the post manned, and he did not want to order an outright rescue mission at this time. He did authorize the expedition so it could be put in motion by orders from Fort Drane, but by the time General Clinch received this message he had released his volunteers. Many of his regulars were sick and all the men were weary from the march to and from Fort Brooke. Clinch also realized his forces were too few to be an effective rescue force and at the same time guard the Alachua frontier, their primary mission. In the meantime, the general had submitted his resignation and was preparing to leave for his home on the St. Marys River. In the light of all of these problems, Clinch called a council of his officers present at Fort Drane to decide what should be done to rescue the troops at the blockhouse. After lengthy discussion and debate, "it was decided unanimously that a force adequate to the purpose could not be marched from this post." [35] Governor Call's letter, Read's report, and a letter from General Clinch telling of the council's recommendation were all forwarded to Scott at St. Augustine. Clinch had tried to raise a group of volunteer horsemen to be used in a rescue mission, but he received no response.

Scott received the messages on May 1, and was very dis-

33. Brevard, *History of Florida,* I, 277.
34. *Ibid.,* 277-78; Herbert J. Doherty, *Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist* (Gainesville, 1961), 103.
35. *House Document* 78, 451-52; Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform,* 133.

pleased with everyone concerned, especially Major Read. Scott felt that the orders that he had issued at Fort Brooke were sufficiently clear; Read should have known of the possibility of a blockhouse on the Withlacoochee. When part of the flatboat was found at the mouth of the river, Read, in Scott's opinion, should have known there were troops up the river who were probably in trouble with the Indians. Scott notified Clinch that he differed from the opinion expressed by the council, and that if nothing had yet been done to effect a rescue, he wanted immediate action.[36] Clinch on May 5 informed Scott that he had sent an express to Old Town, and that he had had no success in his efforts to raise forces to go by land. With all the exchange of messages and plans there was still no positive action taken to remove the force from the blockhouse at the time the three-man canoe party reached St. Marks about May 20. However, when the information concerning the blockhouse reached Governor Call at Tallahassee eighty volunteers were called from the area. Under the command of Major Read, they set sail from St. Marks on May 22 aboard the steamer *Minerva* and arrived off the mouth of the Withlacoochee River the following day. That night under cover of darkness, a boat was sent up the river and the beseiged party was evacuated successfully without firing a shot.[37] Thus ended the defense of the blockhouse on the Withlacoochee. The Indians likely destroyed the structure immediately, as was their custom and turned to other pursuits.

36. *House Document* 78, 454.
37. Williams, *Territory of Florida,* 244.

INTERVENTION AND REACTION: FLORIDA NEWSPAPERS AND UNITED STATES ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR I

by C. PETER RIPLEY *

FLORIDA NEWSPAPERS largely ignored the war in Europe until 1917. In early January there was only an occasional mention of the international situation except for brief reports on the fighting. But by mid-February the possibility, and in some cases the inevitability, of United States involvement in the war was a major editorial topic. A month later a majority of the papers favored America's joining the crusade to make the world "safe for democracy."

The *Miami Herald* was the first Florida daily to show an editorial interest in German-American relations. When President Woodrow Wilson's offer to negotiate peace was ignored by the entente in early January, the *Herald* reported that the only future negotiations leading to peace would be those "carried on at the point of the bayonet and at the mouths of cannon." [1] But it was not suggested that the cannons and bayonets be American, and the tone of the editorial indicated that the only real affront was to American pride. Two weeks later the *Herald* acknowledged that the majority of the people did not want war "and would not consent to . . . entering it unless . . . attacked." [2]

In February the possibility of the United States entering the war became a matter of increasing concern for Floridians. The first incident receiving wide press coverage was German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare against neutral merchant vessels. [3] The *Miami Herald* took the lead among the

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1. *Miami Herald,* January 13, 1917.
2. *Ibid.,* January 26, 1917.
3. After the sinking of the French passenger ship *Sussex* on March 24, 1916, President Woodrow Wilson threatened to sever diplomatic relations with Germany unless that nation ceased waging submarine warfare against neutral merchant ships. Germany agreed to the *Sussex* pledge until January 31, 1917, when it announced that unrestricted

militants. It announced that in view of the American position that "the seas must be open to . . . legitimate errands," the German action appeared to be deliberate provocation. The *Herald* prematurely concluded that "we now can only await the overt act." [4] Joining the *Herald* was the *St. Petersburg Daily Times.* In its first strong editorial on the war the *Times* reasoned that since the start of the conflict, the United States had assumed the role of protecting neutral rights at sea and could not very well abandon its position in the face of the German threat. Without prescribing a course of action the *Times* announced that America "must act!" [5]

The resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare was quickly followed by the severance of German-American diplomatic relations and an increase in neutral ship losses. By mid-February almost all Florida papers were describing their readers' increased awareness of the international situation. On February 15, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* proclaimed that "the spirit of militarism is now sweeping the country in every direction." [6] A few days later the *Tribune's* Sunday magazine section printed a full page poem entitled "We Are Ready, Brother Wilson." The President was assured that the nation and its resources were pledged to support him and "to defend the Motherland!" [7]

The *Miami Herald,* still the most jingoistic of the state's papers, announced that while all Americans deplored war, they should remember that "there are worse things for a nation than . . . armed conflict." One of the "things" mentioned as less desirable was being deprived of "rights on the oceans." [8] The St. Petersburg paper informed its readers that the President had done everything possible to avoid breaking diplomatic relations and that he had "followed his ever-patient policy to the end." [9] When the *Times* endorsed Wilson's actions and as-

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submarine warfare against neutral ships would resume on February 1. German leaders apparently believed that the potential successes of that policy in defeating England outweighed the dangers of United States entry into the war.

4. *Miami Herald,* February 1, 1917.
5. *St. Petersburg Daily Times,* February 3, 1917.
6. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* February 15, 1917.
7. *Ibid.,* February 25, 1917.
8. *Miami Herald,* February 10, 1917.
9. *St. Petersburg Daily Times,* February 4, 1917.

sured him that he had "the undivided loyalty of the American public," it was representative of the position of most Florida papers.[10]

Although a majority of the papers applauded Wilson as he and the country moved toward war, there were other positions represented in the state. The *Gainesville Daily Sun* supported the President when he severed diplomatic relations with Germany and recommended giving him authority to act as he thought best. This recommendation was qualified, however, by the hope that the President would use "all his wisdom and skill to avert an open rupture with Germany and a formal declaration of war."[11] While the Gainesville paper gave Wilson qualified support, the Madison *Enterprise-Recorder* was hostile to his policies. In an editorial on the rupture of diplomatic relations the *Recorder* lamented, "nothing but war is very much expected." Moreover, it implied that the United States was not without responsibility for the tense situation between the two countries: "this country has hardly treated Germany exactly right in some ways." The Madison editor noted that American neutrality allowed the allies to obtain supplies and munitions, while the British blockade denied the Germans the same privilege. He concluded, "we have been neutral in letter but not in spirit."[12]

Critical editorial comments appeared when Wilson asked Congress for authority to arm American merchant vessels and to employ "other instrumentalities" if necessary. The wide powers implied by "other instrumentalities" were ostensibly requested because Congress was to adjourn in nine days, and Wilson felt he needed authority to act decisively and quickly if the necessity arose. The request was blocked in the Senate by seven Republicans and five Democrats led by Robert M. La Follette who filibustered against the bill. Wilson retaliated by damning the Wisconsin senator and his fellow dissenters as a "little group of willful men." With few exceptions the press picked up the phrase, rushed to Wilson's assistance, and joined the denunciation. The *Miami Herald*, quoting President Wilson, described the filibuster as the "most reprehensible tactic ever

10. *Ibid; Jasper News*, February 9, 1917; Starke *Bradford County Telegraph*, February 16, 1917; *Fort Myers Daily Press*, February 27, 1917.
11. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, February 11, 1917.
12. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder*, February 9, 1917.

adopted in a civilized country" and accused the twelve senators of betraying the United States.[13] In an editorial, headlined, "Wilson Powerless in Face of Grave National Danger," the *Tampa Morning Tribune* protested that the safety of America was being jeopardized by the senators and that they deserved to have their "twelve names on [the] nation's roll of dishonor."[14]

The *Panama City Pilot,* not content with simply denouncing LaFollette for his actions, extended its criticism to the voters who elected him. It noted that LaFollette opposed the armed neutrality bill in the senate, and four Wisconsin representatives opposed it in the house.[15] Because Wisconsin contained a large foreign population, particularly of German origin, the *Pilot* reasoned that the congressional dissenters had been sent to Washington "by the votes of . . . traitorous Germans." The editorial argued, "It is time this country stopped giving refuge to German spies and Teutonic anti-American propagandists who are responsible for these disloyal utterances."[16] If the *Pilot* was the most illogical in its writings against LaFollette, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* was the most persistent. As late as April 4, long after armed neutrality ceased to be an issue, an editorial entitled "The Senator From Berlin" appeared. Denouncing LaFollette as a traitor, it called for the eradication of "such dangerous agencies as LaFollette and his like." "17

Not every Florida paper was a confident as the *Tribune* that Wilson's policy of armed neutrality was best for the nation. At least two journals opposed the policy and defended "the little group of willful men." The *Florida Times-Union* announced that it would follow the will of the majority in the senate but protested the denunciations aimed at those who "believe they are performing a patriotic duty in obeying the voice of conscience while justified by the law." In an analysis of the situation the Times-Union pointed out that recalcitrant senators violated no law in opposing either the wishes of the President or the senate majority: "they are responsible to their constituents but not to the President [or] to the body where

13. Miami *Herald,* March 5, 1917.
14. *Tampa* Morning Tribune, March 5, 1917.
15. Congress did not pass the armed neutrality bill, but Wilson was able to arm merchant ships under statute law without specific authority from congress.
16. *Panama City* Pilot, March 8 1917.
17. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* April 4, 1917.

they are units."[18] As the controversy continued, the *Times-Union* suggested that Wilson's request of congress for "other instrumentalities" was, in fact, a request for authority to declare war, and that authority, as defined by the Constitution, belonged to congress alone.[19] The senators were therefore characterized as defenders of the Constitution while Wilson emerged in the eyes of the Jacksonville paper as a usurper of power in this ingenious bit of role-switching.

In a more home-spun manner the Madison *Enterprise-Recorder* also defended the opposition. Responding specifically to the *Tampa Tribune,* the *Recorder* stated that the senators were "clearly . . . not deserving of the abuses . . . heaped upon them" and proposed that the country was not in full agreement with the President's policy of armed neutrality. The writer admitted that he was not "firmly convinced" what the best policy would be and further admitted his pleasure that "the duty of that decision does not devolve upon this country paper." The editorial ended with a philosophical defense of the senators: "In our judgment of men and their motives, we should at all times exercise temperance and self-restraint."[20]

Temperance and self-restraint were scare qualities in the Florida press in March 1917. Throughout the month editorial attitudes became increasingly militant. When three unarmed American ships were reported sunk on March 16, the news media generally agreed that war now existed except for the actual declaration:[21] The *St. Petersburg Daily Times,* in an editorial entitled 'A State of War," contended that Germany "has no respect for American vessels." When her submarines approached an armed American merchant ship, Germany would then make the decision of whether or not the United States Navy would be involved in the conflict.[22] The *Miami Herald* announced: "This is war!" The sinkings revealed the "diabolical determination" of Germany to force America into war. The Herald concluded: "This is the overt act which the American people have been expecting."[23] The *Tampa Morning Tribune*

18. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 7, 1917.
19. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1917.
20. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder*, March 16, 1917.
21. The three ships were *City of Memphis, Illinois, and Vigilancia.*
22. *St. Petersburg Daily Times,* March 20, 1917.
23. Miami *Herald,* March 19, 1917.

speculated on March 20, that the sinkings would force Wilson to ask for a declaration of war, which "public sentiment will support."[24] It recognized that the sinkings did not alter the situation immediately but projected they would "further inflame American sentiment against the buccaneers." The militant *Tribune* insisted that "a state of war now exists." More than the arming of merchant vessels was needed: "We must at once begin aggressive warfare against German submarines with the full power of the navy, backed by the whole strength of the nation."[25]

In contrast, the *Florida Times-Union*, the only major paper in Florida critical of the American position, asked why war was any more imperative in 1917 that it was a year earlier. There was little change on the international scene, it claimed, and suggested that in 1916 popular votes were more important to the Wilson administration than diplomatic problems.[26] The Jacksonville paper shifted its position after the sinkings. It acknowledged that the American policy would not permit such actions, that American ships had been sunk, and that they would continue to be sunk. With this in mind the *Times-Union* suggested that congress be assembled and the United States start preparing for war rather than drifting in that direction for another four years.[27]

The Artisan, a labor union weekly published at Jacksonville, made a similar shift in policy. In late February it protested the "war fever," described the "state of the public mind" as being much the same as it had been on the eve of the Spanish-American War, and blasted reactionary politicians and the press for trying to "stampede the people."[28] Less than a month later, while not favoring the war, *The Artisan* acknowledged its inevitability due to the sinkings.[29] In a lengthy editorial *The Artisan* outlined labor's position. Considering the condition of labor unions in 1917, it is not surprising that the statement was oriented to self-interest. Generally it stated that because modern warfare required the support of all segments of society, the various segments should have a say in the course

24. *Tampa* Morning *Tribune*, March 20, 1917.
25. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1917.
26. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 3, 1917.
27. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1917.
28. Jacksonville *The Artisan*, February 24, 1917.
29. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1917.

of the nation, that "justice between men" at home was a fundamental step to preparedness for war, and that "the rights, interests and welfare of workers" could not be sacrificed in the name of "national safety." After outlining the terms necessary for labor's cooperation with the government, *The Artisan* issued a warning to union members. Workers were cautioned to keep one eye on the foreign enemies and the other on "exploiters at home."[30]

While the *Times-Union* and *The Artisan* modified their positions, the Madison *Enterprise-Recorder* maintained its anti-interventionist posture up to the declaration of war. Just three days prior to Wilson's war message this Florida weekly protested that "much of the United States is war-mad." The paper was convinced that unrestricted submarine warfare was a desperate effort by Germany to end the war quickly because of critical shortages at home. While not defending the submarine policy, much concern was expressed for the German people who were reported to be suffering under a government over which they had no control. Of the situation in both countries the *Enterprise-Recorder* stated: "Influenced by the constant nagging of those who are profiting . . . by the war, cowered into submission and approval by cries of molly coddle, jellyfish and pacifist, dazzled by military trappings and splendor, this great nation is about to seize upon poor, bleeding Germany, whose rulers truly have grossly sinned, but whose people are as noble a race of God's children as any of us."[31]

The usually militant *St, Petersburg Daily Times* agreed in part with the *Recorder's* appraisal. While not protesting America's pending involvement in the war, the *Times* felt it should be clearly stated that we would be at war against the ruling military autocracy and not against the German people.32 Regardless of the opinion of the St. Petersburg and Madison papers, congress made little distinction between the German people and the military autocracy in its declaration of war of

30. *Ibid.* The policy statement was made by the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America. One specific demand was that labor be represented on "all agencies determining and administering national defense." On April *28,* 1917, *The Artisan* announced that representatives from labor were serving on the National Committee of Defense.
31. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* March 30, 1917.
32. *St. Petersburg* Daily Times, March 27, 1917.

April 6. But the declaration did affect at least a segment of the Florida press. The previously critical *Times-Union* announced that with the declaration of war "all discussion closes [and] every American worthy of the name will bend his energies to ending the war through victory." Although previously opposed to giving Wilson authority to use "other instrumentalities," once war was declared the Times-Union urged congress to give the President "anything reasonable" to insure success.[33] The *Enterprise-Recorder* was less enthusiastic in its call for unity. It pointed out that it "was one of those that did not think conditions absolutely necessitated war," but now it was "only proper for all Americans to stand by our country." The hope was for an early and just peace.[34]

Consistent with its past attitude the *Miami Herald* proclaimed that the American people wanted the war-wanted it because it would "put an end to the greatest danger that ever threatened civilization," and because it would bring "peace and [the] universal reign of democracy."[35] The *Tampa Morning Tribune* joined the consensus: American participation in the war would make the world "safe for democracy." The *Tribune* announced that it "has now become a war for the extermination of military autocracy . . . and [for] the guarantee of permanent peace throughout the world." Reflecting this mood, the *Tribune* thought that American involvement would mean not only a quicker end to the war but also the end of the "discredited system of hereditary monarchy . . ., the leveling of all titled aristocracies, [and] *the* establishment of the rule of the people in every land under God's sun."[36]

Many of Florida's rural weeklies, which had shown small concern with the international situation, acknowledged the declaration of war in their own way and called for a united effort. The Titusville *East-Coast Advocate* felt, "It is not the fault of the United States that she has declared war, but the fault of Germany, who has ruthlessly murdered our men, women, and children on the high seas."[37] The Bartow paper credited Wilson with using "force and logic" to justify his

33. Jacksonville *Florida* Times-Union, April 6, 1917.
34. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder*, April 13, 1917.
35. Miami *Herald*, April 7, 1917.
36. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 7, 1917.
37. Titusville *East-Coast Advocate*, April 13, 1917.

position. It announced that "the great bulk of the people are sorry that it seemed necessary to take this final step, but having taken it there should be no half-hearted support of the government."[38] From Starke *came* word *that* while many opposed the war, there was no other alternative under the circumstances. "Better to be poor with honor than rich with shame," philosophized that city's *Bradford County Telegraph*.[39] It appears the *Jasper* News gave the declaration of war the least attention of any Florida paper. Reflecting its rural readers' more immediate problems, its first edition after the declaration gave wider coverage to the problem of ticks, their effect on milk yield, and the necessity of their eradication than to the conflict.40

There were aspects of the war at home that soon received considerable attention. A major concern was rising prices and America's obligation to supply foodstuffs to the allies. The Florida press did much to make its readers aware of the problem of food production. The papers printed President Wilson's pleas to the farmers and expressed gratitude to the Florida commossioner and the national secretary of agriculture for their assistance in the war effort.[41] Prior to the war the *Tampa Morning Tribune* encouraged all urban dwellers to plant gardens in their back yards,[42] and the St. Petersburg paper claimed that the success of the allied cause depended on the efficiency of American agriculture.[43] The *Miami Herald* told the state's farmers that if they were serious about the war there would be no need to bring food products into the state for they should be able to feed Florida's residents.[44] Jacksonville's citizens were offered an imaginative solution to the food problem by the *Florida Times-Union*. It recommended that the city allow its people to cultivate gardens on public-owned lots, and reported that the idea was "widely applauded from all sides." The Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce assumed responsibility for coordinating the program, and *the Times-Union* provided seeds,

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38 Bartow Courier-Informant, April 10, 1917.
39 Starke *Bradford County Telegraph*, April 13, 1917.
40: Jasper News, April 13, 1917.
41. *St. Petersburg Daily* Times, April 4, 1917; Jasper News, April 20, 1917.
42. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 19, 1917.
43. *St. Petersburg Daily* Times, April 4, 1917.
44. Miami *Herald*, April 10, 1917.

implements, and fertilizers.- By April 15, the project was well underway.[45]

The *Courier-Informant* of Bartow introduced a news item with: "Serve Your Country/Raise More to Eat/Save What You Raise." Offering practical advice, it suggested limiting crops to those which could be produced abundantly in the available soil and climate. Specifically, "it would be foolish to attempt anything but velvet beans" on unused fields; peanuts would pay for themselves by adding fertilizer to the soil; sweet potatoes could be grown easily and cheaply; and hay would be in great demand.[46] In the jargon of rural America, the *Bradford County Telegraph* described with a minimum number of words the problem and a solution. Part of the war would be won by "vittels" and "the best patriot therefore, is he who raises the most grub. Let us, then be valiant soldiers of the hoe."[47]

Domestic security was also of great concern to Floridians. The Old South paranoia of black revolts emerged briefly in April 1917. The *Tampa Morning* Tribune announced that German agents were seeking to incite southern Negroes to rebel. The news item reported that a German organization centered in Greensboro, North Carolina, was sending agents throughout the South recruiting black allies.[48] They were reported at work in Bradford County, Florida, offering the blacks "complete franchise, freedom, and political and social equality" for aiding the German cause. The Jacksonville marshal's office confirmed rumors that it was investigating activity of that *nature.* Most sources denied that the German agents met with any success. Yet Tampa had armed guards patrolling the city power plant and water reservoirs because of rumors that the Germans had hired Negroes to blow up the plant and poison the water supply.[49] Despite rumors to the contrary, Florida had little to fear from its Negro population, who, like most Americans, joined in the effort to make the world "safe for democracy."[50]

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45. Jacksonville *Florida* Times-Union, April 8, 10, 15, 1917.
46. Bartow *Courier-Informant,* May 1, 1917.
47. Starke *Bradford County Telegraph,* April 29, 1917.
48. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* April 5, 1917.
49. *Ibid.,* April 5, 15, 1917.
50. For Afro-American patriotic rallies and recruitment activities see St. *Petersburg Daily Times,* March 27, April 7, 1917; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* April 7, 9, 18, 1917; Miami *Herald,* April 11, 1917; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 2, 11, 12, 1917.

German-Americans were likewise a natural target for those papers concerned with domestic security. The Titusville *East-Coast Advocate* called on all German-Americans to decide where their loyalties lay, and then either take a loyalty pledge or suffer the consequences as traitors.51 One of the-most critical of German-Americans was the St. Andrews *Bay* News. It acknowledged that many were loyal citizens but suggested that others "are but enemies in disguise, who are plotting against us, and even now are committing acts of treason." All loyal Americans were called on to "search out" these enemies and report them to the authorities.[52] Acts of reprisal against German-Americans were as common as rumors of activities of German spies. In Plant City a man was arrested and his baggage searched for vials of typhoid and yellow fever germs which, according to rumor, were to be deposited in the county water supply.53 In Tampa a rooming house was fire-bombed, reportedly because two of its lodgers who were "unnaturalized Germans" had been "talking about the United States in a way that . . . stirred considerable feeling."[54] The caption of a *Tampa Morning Tribune* news item announced, "Teuton Sympathizer, Teaching at Florida Female College, Fired." A piano instructor, Miss Felma Bjerge, refused to remove a picture of the Kaiser and a German flag from her studio and was asked to resign by the board of control. The Tribune felt "this is the proper thing to do in such cases . . . . We certainly have no place in our educational institutions for teachers who flaunt the enemy colors in the faces of American youth."[55] Like the blacks, Florida's German-Americans made their confessions of loyalty and their contributions to the war effort.[56]

Closely associated with concern over the activities of German sympathizers and spies was the organization of home guards. Fear over the absence of federal troops in the state prompted Florida papers to promote the organizations. Jack-

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51. Titusville *East-Coast Advocate,* April 13, 1917.
52. *St. Andrews* Bay News, April 3, 1917.
53. *Tampa Morning Tribune.* April 16, 1917.
54. *Ibid.,* April 12, 1917.
55. *Ibid.,* April 21, 22, 1917; *Jasper* News, April 27, 1917.
56. For patriotic activities by German-Americans in Florida see Jacksonville *Florida* Times-Union, April 6, 1917; Tampa Morning *Tribune,* April 9, 11, 1917; Titusville East-Coast *Advocate,* April 27, 1917.

sonville had a public safety committee and a home guard that were "prepared to suppress all disorders."[57] The Titusville paper carried a private letter seeking volunteers because "the Indian River section from Daytona to Palm Beach is without infantry, cavalry or artillery."[58] Under similar urging Quincy, Palatka, Mayport, Miami, Bartow, and other Florida cities also created municipal paramilitary groups for local protection.[59]

If Florida papers were worried about internal threats, they were also concerned with the vulnerability of the state's long coastline. A north Florida weekly announced that "a score or more of German submarines [are] reported as being ready to attack Gulf Coast towns." There was particular apprehension about the St. Andrews Bay area which was described as "the largest, deepest, landlocked harbor on the Gulf, with many important towns on its shores, and millions of dollars invested in industries, with not the least protection provided for its defense." The local paper was also distressed because the situation had been repeatedly brought to the attention of congress, which, it claimed, had failed to respond.[60] The Panama *City Pilot* envisioned submarine raids along the coast and even warned that "the enemy could effect a landing here in force and establish a base on our territory." It called for congress to take immediate action to provide the area with protection.[61]

Miami, Tampa, and Jacksonville also requested protective measures from the federal government. The newspapers in those cities endorsed the requests, but sought to reassure their readers rather than to alarm them. The *Miami Herald* did not minimize the danger but cautioned against being "stampeded by fear of attacks."[62] The *Tampa Morning Tribune* warned its readers of reacting to rumors that "mysterious warcraft [are] hovering about our coasts" and assured them that the government was aware of all such activities. "Therefore, keep cool, and

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57. Jacksonville *Florida* Times-Union, April 8, 11, 1917; *The* Artisan, April 28, 1917.
58. Letter from Philip W. Roberts, March 21, 1917, Titusville *East-Coast Advocate*, March 23, 1917.
59. Jacksonville *Florida* Times-Union, April 11, 12, 16, 1917; Bartow *Courier-Informant*, April 24, 1917.
60. St. *Andrews* Bay News, April 15, 1917.
61. Panama *City Pilot*, March 29, April 12, 1917.
62. *Miami Herald*, April 10, 1917.

do not flush with excitement at every rumor that gains currcency on the streets."[63]

To other activities aiding the war effort the Florida press gave considerable news coverage and strong editorial support. While enthusiasm for the war itself varied, patriotic rallies, Red Cross chapters, National Guard companies, Liberty Bond sales, and military recruitment were all heartily endorsed. In surveying the attitude of Florida newspapers on United States intervention in World War I, certain characteristics become obvious. One is that the majority of the papers reflected the position of the Wilson administration; their editorials on the war became more numerous, and they increasingly supported Wilson and intervention as America moved closer to war. Of this group the *Miami Herald* and the *Tampa Tribune* were the most adamant in their support.

The *Florida Times-Union* and the Madison *Enterprise-Recorder* could on some issues be termed an opposition group. The *Times-Union,* while not favoring intervention, concerned itself primarily with the constitutional question of presidential powers during war-time and with criticizing Wilson generally. The *Enterprise-Recorder* stands almost alone for its reasoned presentation of another point of view and for its opposition to United States policies. It repeatedly pointed out the inconsistency of the conditions of United States neutrality and counseled America against becoming "war mad." A third group of papers, mostly weekly, were largely unconcerned with the war until just prior to United States involvement. They represent that segment of America which in 1917 was rural, parochial, and for the most part concerned with local matters that affected them directly. Regardless of their position prior to April 16, 1917, all papers in Florida supported America's participation in the war after the declaration.

63. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* April 8, 1917.

JUSTICE SAMUEL DOUGLAS AS GOVERNOR MARVIN REMEMBERED HIM

by BERTRAM H. GROENE*

IN FEBRUARY OF 1896 forty-seven year old Bettie Douglas Lewis of Tallahassee, Florida, wrote a letter[1] to aging William Marvin, former governor of the state of Florida.[2] Mrs. Lewis' mother was "Lizzie" Brown, oldest of former Governor Thomas Brown's four daughters.[3] Bettie's father was Judge Samuel James Douglas, once Florida's territorial judge of the middle district, located in Tallahassee, and later an associate justice of the Florida supreme court. Douglas died in 1873, and twenty-three years later, Bettie (Mrs. George Lewis) sought to preserve his history. Aside from her mother, Lizzie, there were few people then living who knew the early life of her father better than William Marvin, who had served as southern Florida's United States district court judge at Key West from 1840 to 1845 and later as circuit court judge. In the early days he regularly sat with Douglas on the territorial court of appeals that met each January in Tallahassee.[4] A life-long friendship developed between these two men.

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1. A copy of this letter was made available by the late Mrs. William S. Manning of Jacksonville. Additional information on Judge Douglas was supplied by Mrs. John Ward Henderson of Tallahassee, grandaughter of Samuel J. Douglas.
2. William Marvin (1808-1902) was appointed provisional governor of Florida by President Andrew Johnson, July 13, 1865. He was elected to the United States Senate from Florida in late 1865, but the Radical Republicans refused to allow him to take his seat. He moved to Skaneateles, New York in 1867. Kevin E. Kearney, ed., "Autobiography of William Marvin," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXVI (January 1958), 179-222.
3. The other three daughters of Governor Brown (1849-1853) were Mary, Margaret (Mag), and Virginia (Ginnie). Bertram H. Groene, "Lizzy Brown's Tallahassee," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLVIII (October 1969), 155.
4. Each January all of the United States federal district judges met at the Capital, Tallahassee, to sit as the federal appeals court. Marvin was appointed United States judge of the southern district by President Van Buren on April 21, 1840. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Florida Territory, 1821-1845,* 26 vols. (Washington, 1956-1962), XXVI, 132.

In January 1861, when Florida seceded from the Union, Circuit Judge Marvin, a New Yorker by birth, remained loyal to the federal government. Douglas at the time was a prominent Key West attorney. With the coming of the war, the Union forces, which controlled the island with its town and naval facilities, kept a close watch on Douglas and his fellow secessionists. Marvin in his letter called this difficult time, "the saddest period of my life."[5] Douglas, who had cast his fortunes with the South, patiently waited his chance for escape to the Confederate mainland. Finally, one spring evening, leaving behind all his possessions except one trunk of belongings, he was able to take his wife and two children aboard a sailing vessel. At midnight an ebb tide carried them under furled sails silently away from the docks. Then with a good wind the sails were set for the trip north to St. Marks, the port of entry for Confederate Tallahassee.[6]

Little is known of Judge Douglas' services to the Confederacy other than what Governor Marvin disclosed to Bettie in his letter. After the war Marvin served for a brief time as provisional governor of occupied Florida, and he appointed his old friend, Douglas, as his secretary. Marvin's biographical sketch of the judge unfortunately ends here. Douglas was appointed the following year as an associate justice of the Florida supreme court, and he served through 1868. Again the judge dropped from public life. He died five years later in Tallahassee, November 1873, at the age of sixty-one.[7]

Governor Marvin's letter to Bettie is reproduced here in its entirety. It was written in ink on twenty-three eight by ten pages. He lived for six more years and died in 1902 at his home in Skaneateles, New York. Bettie died in 1919. She was buried in the old Tallahassee City Cemetery near her father of whom she was so proud.[8]

Mrs. George Lewis;

My dear Bettie,

I shall take pleasure in complying with your request contained in your letter of January 22nd to write down and send

5. Kearney, "Autobiography of William Marvin," 214.
6. Mrs. John Ward Henderson, to author, March 1, 1970.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*

you such reminiscences of your dear father, Judge Douglas, as may occur to me.

Your father and I were friends, and were very much together during a large portion of his life, and to recall to mind the events which occurred in his history during this time will be very much like living a large part of my own life over again.

I met your father for the first time in 1842, or 1843, I *think* in 1842, at Mrs. Chandler's boarding house in Tallahassee.[9] He had, not long before, been appointed by President Tyler, Judge of the Superior Court of Middle Florida.[10] I had come on from Key West to attend a session of the Court of Appeals, to commence there early in January. The Court of Appeals was composed at that time of the Judges of the Superior Courts of the several districts, . . . presiding Judges [Samuel W.] Carmack, from the Appalachicola, Samuel J. Douglas from the middle, Isaac Bronson from the eastern, and Wm. Marvin from the Southern district.11 *Your* father was the youngest of them. He appeared to me, at that time, to be about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, about five feet eleven inches tall, weighing about one hundred and sixty pounds; well proportioned, having small feet and hands, well rounded limbs, thick, bushy auburn and white hair, and light blue or greyish eyes; always well dressed, a close observer might notice that when he walked one shoulder was a little higher than the other, which helped to give him a sort of stylish, jaunty air.[12] Altogether, he was a handsome, attractive looking man.

Judge Douglas, although the youngest man on the Bench, and not quite so well acquainted with the laws of the Territory as some of the older Judges, did his full share of the work,

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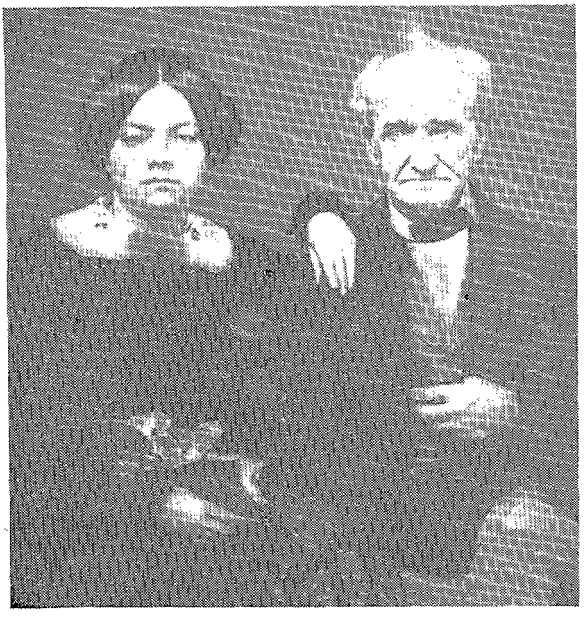
9. Judge Marvin must have met Judge Douglas in December 1841, or January 1842, as Douglas was commissioned on October 12, 1841, and the court of appeals "met the following January.
10. John Tyler commissioned Douglas as judge of the middle district of Florida on October 12, 1841. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXVI, 379.
11. There were eventually five superior courts: western (Pensacola); middle (Tallahassee); eastern (St. Augustine); southern (Key West); and the Apalachicola district. W. T. Cash, The *Story of Florida,* 4 vols. (New York,. 1938), II, 620-25. Marvin had been appointed April 21, 1840, by President Van Buren: Isaac Bronson vy Van Buren, March 14, 1840; and Samuel Carmack by President Tyler, September 13, 1841. Carter, *Territorial Papers* XXVI, 132, 123, 372.
12. Judge Douglas was barn in October 1812 at Petersburg, Virginia. This would make him twenty-nine at his first appeals court session in January 1842. Mrs. Henderson to author, March 1, 1970.

Bettie Douglas and her mother, Lizzie Brown Douglas ca. 1856.



Governor Thomas Brown with daughter "Mag" shortly before his death in 1867.

writing as many opinions as any of them, and as able and well considered ones.[13] He was highly respected by his associate Judges for his integrity, ability, and pleasant manners. Nevertheless, he encountered much opposition, both from the bar and from the people, in holding the Superior Courts in his own district. The planters in Middle Florida were very generally, at this time, largely in debt. They had borrowed money from any quarter where they could get it, but especially from the Union Bank of Florida, which had become crippled if not quite insolvent, and could lend them no more. Many of them were sued, and probably the largest number of cases for trial in the court, ever known in Florida, was on the docket at the time Judge Douglas assumed the duties of his office.[14] The real desire of the people generally, was that he should not hold his court at all, and so no judgements could be rendered against them for their debts, and not a few members of his bar sympathized with the people. He had but little moral support from his surroundings. Besides this condition of general indebtedness, a bad and somewhat lawless state of policy prevailed in the district.15 General Read, a distinguished citizen, who had married Governor Branch's daughter, had been shot down in the street by Willis Alston, a short time previous[ly].[16] Young Ward, a cadet or graduate of West Point, brother of George Ward, had been recently killed, and several other murders less conspicuous, had been committed and yet the murderers had not been arrested. Under such circumstances it required some degree of courage to enable a judge, especially one recently appointed from a distant state to hold his court and administer justice with an

13. From November 29, 1841 to February 12, 1842, Douglas disposed of 2,000 cases and expected a total of 4,000 cases disposed of by that June in his middle district court. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 434.
14. The Union Bank of Tallahassee was primarily for planters. It loaned money unwisely on land and slaves. The bank collapsed in 1843, and its passing was the great banking scandal of antebellum Florida. David Y. Thomas, "A History of Banking in Florida," 19, 74-82. A typed copy of the Thomas manuscript is in the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.
15. 1835 to 1842 were the most lawless years in antebellum Tallahassee. Bertram H. Groene, "Ante-bellum Tallahassee: It Was a Gay Time Then" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1967), 213-16.
16. Willis Alston was released on bond. He jumped his bond and fled to Texas where he was lynched following another murder committed by him. Groene, "Ante-bellum Tallahassee: It Was a Gay Time Then," 208-09.

impartial hand.[17] This, Judge Douglas did, and, as I think, with some danger to his personal safety. He was well supported in the discharge of his duties by his Marshal, Major Camp, and by some of the lawyers.[18] The bar in Tallahassee was composed of strong men, such as Thomas Baltzell, Wm. H. Brokenborough, Leslie Thompson, Thomas Wagner, Thomas Archer, George and David Walker and others.[19]

In the ensuing summer vacation Judge Douglas returned to his home in Virgina, where I stopped over on my way to the north and visited him for a day or two. He lived in [a] moderate sized house, large enough however for his family, located in or near the little hamlet of Jerusalem in Southampton County. On this occasion I became slightly acquainted with his wife and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Kello. His wife seemed to me to be a very lovely, refined spiritual-minded woman, with a delicate white complexion and soft, gentle manners. I was generously and hospitably entertained. In the morning before I left my room, a servant brought to me a large glass holding at least a pint of mint julep! This drink is composed of water, whiskey, sugar, nutmeg, mint just gathered from the garden, and ice, well shaken together so as to extract the juices of the mint, I've been told by Virginians that this attention is a common act of hospitality in their state. They sometimes call this drink an anti-fogmatic. It is pleasant to the taste, but if I should drink much of it before breakfast, I am quite sure I should be drunk all day.

When I left to continue on my journey, Judge Douglas joined me and we proceeded together to Washington, where we stopped at Gadsby's hotel. We called on President Tyler and were invited to take a family room dinner with him the next day. We accepted the invitaion. The President, his two daughters, one of them Mrs. Semple, and his son, John, and ourselves

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17. It is a Douglas family tradition that President Tyler was fond of saying that the judge "'was not afraid of the devil himself." Interview with Mrs. Henderson, February 1970.
18. John G. Camp was appointed a United States marshal of the middle district, July 22, 1841. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, **XXVI, 359.**
19. William H. Brokenborough was president of the Florida senate, 1842: Thomas Baltzell was chief justice of the Florida supreme court, I&54-1860; Leslie Thompson was four times mayor of Tallahassee; and David Walker was a supreme court justice, 1860-1865, and governor, 1865-1868. Allen Morris, *Florida Handbook, 1949-1950* (Tallahassee, 1949), 10, 114; Dorothy Dodd, "The Corporation of Tallahassee, 1826-1869," *Apalachee* (1948), 95.

composed the party. The dinner was good but plain, among the dishes was one of bacon and greens. The conversation was pleasant and agreeable. It was quite evident that the President and the Judge had been sometime acquainted with each other. I think the President's friendship for the Judge was quite as much a reason for his appointment to office as his fitness for it. We spent several days very pleasantly in Washington, visiting the White House frequently and becoming quite well acquainted with the ladies of the household. Our visit being ended, I went on to New York, and the Judge returned to Virginia.

The Territory of Florida was admitted into the Union as a State in 1845 and as a consequence thereof the Court of Appeals and the Superior Courts which were held under authority of Acts of Congress were superceded by the State Courts, and Judge Douglas and others were left out of office. The Judge returned to the practice of the law. I saw but little of him and know but little of his life from this time till he came to Key West in 1849 or '50, he having been appointed Collector of the port of that place by President Taylor or President Fillmore.[20] His wife had died sometime before, and he had married Elizabeth Brown, daughter of Thomas Brown, an eminent citizen of Tallahassee afterwards Governor of the State.[21] This, in my judgement was a very suitable match. Her home being at the seat of government Miss Brown came to be very generally known, and to be acknowledged as the wit and belle of the Territory. So far as an outsider is competent to judge, I believe that his happiness was promoted by this marriage.

The performance of his duties as Collector did not occupy his whole time, and by the aid of good officials under him, he had plenty of time to give to the practice of his profession and he soon had his full share of the business of the courts, counting among his clients the principal merchants of the Island. Among them William H. Wall, Oliver O'Hara, Borme and Curry, Ava

20. President Taylor appointed Douglas collector of customs for Key West on August 9, 1849. He entered upon his duties October 1 of that year and left the position May 8, 1853 to continue his law practice in Key West until the outbreak of the Civil War. Walter C. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida* (Newark, 1876; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1968), 77.

21. Douglas married Francis Elizabeth Brown in 1847. Interview with Lizzie Brown's two granddaughters, Mrs. Henderson and the late Mrs. Manning, spring, 1966.

Tift and others. Among his associates at the bar were Stephen R. Mallory, afterwards Senator in Congress and at a later period Secretary of the Navy of the Confederate States, Thomas T. King, afterwards Judge of the Circuit Court of the State, Adam Gordon and others.

With an income more than sufficient for his immediate wants, derived from his salary as Collector, from the practice of the law, and from the wages of a few slaves, surrounded by numerous friends, and in the bosom of an interesting and growing family, this was probably the happiest period of his life. He and his wife often entertained their friends at delightful little dinners and suppers, and their house was always a charming place to visit.

But the current of his life was destined not to flow on so gently and smoothly for any long time. In the fall or early winter of 1860 news was brought to Key West from Tallahassee proclaiming that the Legislature had passed *a* law calling a convention with a view to passing an ordinance of secession.[22] This measure at once divided the people of Key West into two parties; one in favor of secession, the other against it. The inhabitants were all ablaze with excitement. Delegates were to be elected to the Convention. Judge Douglas took his stand in favor of the Union, and made able speeches on that side of the question.[23] But after the war had broken out and Virginia had seceded from the Union, it seemed to him, and to many of his friends at Key West, that the Union *was* likely to be broken up and dissolved into its original elements. In this state of things, he decided to cast in his lot with his native state. He thereupon moved himself and his family to Tallahassee, and afterwards to Virginia. This decision changed the whole current of his after life, whether for better, or for worse, no one can tell. Had he remained quietly in Key West, he would, in *all* likelihood have been employed as an attorney and Counsillor [sic] in many prize causes, thereby adding very considerably to his means of living, and, at the close of the war he would have stood a fair chance of being appointed a judge on the Bench of the United States Supreme Court. But, "It is not in man that

22. The convention met January 3, 1861; secession was voted 62 to 7 on January 10, 1861.
23. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida*, 63.

walketh to direct his steps;" "There is a divinity that shapes our ends, roughhew how we may."[24]

I know almost nothing of the life of Judge Douglas during the war. I have been told that he accepted the office of Judge of some military tribunal established by the Confederate Congress for the trial of military offences, and that he discharged its duties with his customary fairness and impartiality.

In July 1865, the war being over, President Johnson appointed me Provisional Governor of Florida. The State Government had been overthrown by the army of the United States, and martial law everywhere prevailed. My duties consisted principally, not wholly, in inaugurating and carrying out such measures as would enable the people to reconstruct their State Government. In the discharge of these duties I needed the services of a secretary or clerk, and was empowered to employ one at a moderate salary. On my arrival in Tallahassee I was received and welcomed at the State House by a large number of citizens, and among them I soon discovered my dear old friend—We spontaneously embraced each other. The ties of mutual affection had not been weakened by war and separation. My friend was four years older than when I last saw him. His hair was white as snow. He had been through the war and had come out with a loss of all his property. I was glad to be able to help him a little by appointing him to the Secretaryship, and equally glad to have his valuable services. He discharged the duties of this office to the satisfaction of all parties interested.

In my daily and confidential intercourse with him for several months together, I found that he fully and honestly "accepted the situation," as the expression then was. Nevertheless, he had two grievances, which he sometimes spoke of with some degree of bitterness. One was that he felt as if he had been personally injured by being dragged out of the Union four years before against his consent by the leaders of the secession party. He had been all his life-time a whig in politics and a lover of the Union. He now entertained a positive dislike of the secession leaders. The other grievance was that the Congress, in its recent legislation, had not discriminated between the old Union-men in the South and the Secessionists. This legislation

24. "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." William Shakespeare, "Hamlet," Act V, scene ii, 1.10.

declared in substance that no person should hold any office under the government of the United States without first taking an oath declaring that he had never sworn to support the Constitution, and had afterwards joined in, aided, or abetted the Rebellion. The inability to take this oath disqualified Judge Douglas and many other old Union-men, from holding any Federal office, for they had in years gone by, been Judges, Collectors, Justices of the Peace etc. and had taken an oath of office promising to support the Constitution. Yet, at the same time, leading men among the secessionists, in many instances could concientiously take the oath, for, in their dislike of the Government of the United States, they had for years refused to hold office under it, and therefore had never taken any oath to support the Constitution. For instance, the President of the Secession Convention in Florida, it is said, had never held any office requiring him to take an official oath. He, therefore, was not disqualified by this legislation from holding office under the Government of the United States; whereas Judge Douglas, an old Union man, was disqualified by it.25

As a Judge, Judge Douglas was capable, and honest; as a practicing lawyer, loyal to his clients, and in arguing his causes before a court or jury was often eloquent. As a patriot he loved the whole Union, especially his native state, as a husband he was faithful and affectionate, as a father, considerate and indulgent. He was moderately fond of society, easy and graceful in his bearing, fond of dancing and always courteous and agreeable. He enjoyed, too, a dinner with his friends, at his own house or theirs, but *was* moderate both in his eating and drinking. In his church relations he was an Episcopalian.

Dear Betty:

I conclude these reminiscences of your dear father by expressing the hope, that his children, grandchildren, and de-

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25. Douglas had been appointed to the Florida supreme court by Governor Walker in 1866. The law that embittered Douglas was the oath to which he could not swear found in the Second Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867. It read in part, "I have never been a member of any State legislature, nor held any executive or judicial office in any state . . . engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States." Henry Steele Commager, *Documents of American History, 2* vols. (New York, 1949), II, 38. It is remarkable that the radical government allowed former confederate Judge Douglas to remain on the bench until 1868.

scendants to the third and fourth generation will cherish his memory and practice his virtues.

With much love to yourself, your mother, George and the children, I am your old friend,

Wm. Marvin

Skaneateles
February twenty-first
1896

TAMIAMI TRAIL BLAZERS: A PERSONAL MEMOIR

by RUSSELL KAY*

PRIOR TO THE CONSTRUCTION of the Tamiami Trail connecting the east and west coasts of Florida, the only cross-peninsular highway ran from Tampa to Daytona Beach. With the advent of automobiles in Florida shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, the possibility of constructing a highway across the Everglades was considered. It was a very controversial issue, however, and opponents argued that the giant cost and the great engineering problems would make the project impossible. Businessmen and chamber of commerce representatives on both coasts, however, insisted that it could be done. Shortly after the end of World War I and even before the onset of the Florida boom of the 1920's, a publicity campaign was launched to sell the highway construction idea. Citizens were urged to use their influence with the Florida legislature and the federal government to consider and study the problem.

A cross-state highway in south Florida would be worthwhile, almost everyone agreed, but the obvious cost of such a project discouraged many private citizens and public officials from endorsing it. However, men like Captain James Franklin Jaudon of Miami and Barron G. Collier of *Collier* County, who had vast holdings that would be benefitted greatly by such a highway, helped to keep the argument alive. As a result, a group of west coast businessmen decided to promote the idea by staging a "blazing" of the proposed Tamiami Trail in April 1923.

There were a number of well-traveled Indian trails running from Miami to Fort Myers, and many of these were at least 100 years old. In three to seven days it was possible for someone who was willing to forgo the luxuries of civilized life, and who was strong enough to battle mosquitoes, snakes, and sand flies to move across the Everglades from one coast to the other. The

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Seminoles, Miccosukees, and Cow Creeks had constructed palm thatched chickees along the established trails and travelers could store food, salt, and other necessities. According to Indian code, anyone travelling through was always welcome to help himself to jerky, venison, salt, or whatever else he needed from these stations. He was, of course, obligated to replace what he had taken at his first opportunity. These chickees served to aid and protect Indian travelers and any other adventurous souls who might move along the trail.

Stanley Hanson of Fort Myers was the Indian agent for the area in 1923. He knew, understood, and respected his charges, and they in turn liked and respected him. Often, he later recalled, he would awaken in the morning to find one or more Indians sitting on his front steps in Fort Myers waiting for him with some particular personal problem that needed solving. Hanson strongly supported the Tamiami Trail project, and he engaged two Indian guides to help lead the trail blazers in 1923. One Indian, a tall, raw-bowned fellow, about thirty years old, was named Assumhachee but everyone called him Abraham Lincoln because of his size and appearance. The other was a Seminole leader, short and stubby, about sixty years old. His face was quite wrinkled, but he was very agile. His Indian name was Conopatchee, but the whites called him Little Billie. These were Miccosukee Indians, and they came from a small village located on a pine knoll in the heart of the glades country, about forty miles north of Everglades City.

The trail project was conceived as a means of publicizing the need for a cross-state highway. At that time (1923), canals had been dug through the area and rough grades had been thrown up from Naples on the west coast and from Miami on the east. Construction, however, had been halted when money ran out, and public interest quickly began to lag. The west coast grade terminated a few miles north of Everglades City, then a sportsman's retreat that had been established by Barron Collier.[1]

The trail expedition was headed by Ora E. Chapin, manager of the trust department of the Title and Trust Company of Fort

1. Collier was a northern advertising tycoon who became the major land developer of southwest Florida and for whom Collier County was named. Everglades City was reached by the Deep Lake Railroad from Immokolee, constructed by Collier.

Myers. It included Frank Whitman, managing editor, and the author, then business manager of *The Florida Grower* of Tampa; E. P. Green of Bradenton, a member of the state road department; L. A. Whitney of St. Petersburg; John E. Morris, chairman of the Lee County board of county commissioners; George E. Hosmer, publisher of the *Fort Myers Press;* George W. Dunham, director of the Tamiami Trail association of Fort Myers; Henry Colquit, F. C. Garmon, Fred B. Hough, Amos Bolich, L. J. Van Duyle, Joe W. Hill, Maurice Ayrer, Clark Taylor, C. Shawcross, Hilton D. Thompson, H. Andrews[2] of the *American Eagle,* a weekly newspaper published at Estero; and Stanley Hanson, *the* Indian **agent.3** Very few of these men had much experience as woodsmen and almost none of them had ever been in the Everglades. They were city-born and city-bred, and they joined the party more as a lark than anything else. They had very little knowledge or understanding of what lay ahead of them.

It was understood by all concerned that if the venture was successful it would prove that it was possible to cross the Everglades by automobile. Each man paid his own expense and provided most of his own camping equipment. The convoy included one commissary truck, seven Model T Fords, and a new Elcar that had been taken from its showroom in Fort Myers. All except the *Florida* Grower automobile carried standard equipment. This latter car, carrying Frank Whitman and the author, was equipped with extra-sized Miller horseshow tires which had been provided by the manufacturer as an advertising effort. The tires were supposed to provide perfect traction under any conditions — beach, sand, or mud — but they would more than meet their match on the slimy-saw tooth sawgrass of the Everglades.

The shiny new Elcar was driven by the owner of the Fort Myers automobile agency, and he hoped a successful trip would demonstrate the prowess of his vehicle. He was doomed to disappointment; it became quickly stuck in the mire when the

2. Another memoir of the trail blazers' expedition was written by Allen H. Andrews, *A Yank* Pioneer in *Florida* (Jacksonville, 1950), 140-59. It has been reprinted in Baynard Kendrick, Florida *Trails to Turnpikes, 1914-1964* (Gainesville, 1964), 72-80.
3. There is disagreement among contemporary newspaper accounts as to the name and number of men on the expedition.

going became rough, and it had to be rescued and returned to Fort Myers. The second car to drop out, about halwway across, was the Overland because of stripped gears, and it may still be mired in the recesses of the glades. It looked for a time like one of the Fords would not make it either because of a broken front spring, but a new spring was fashioned out of pole cypress, and after it was installed, the car continued with the rest of the convoy.

The group left Fort Myers on the morning of April 4, 1923 with a great deal of hub-bub and excitement. There was picture taking and last minute interviews by newsmen representing the state and some national papers. Among those who had gathered was the famed inventor, Thomas Alyva Edison, who, along with Henry Ford, entrusted a bottle of grape juice to the author to be presented to William Jennings Bryan in Miami. Neatly tied with a large white ribbon bow, it was stowed in the grub wagon. The road from Fort Myers south to the end of the grade at Naples was a nine-foot wide shell road. That was not too bad, but it was very rough grade from that point on. Everything went fairly well the first day, at least until the convoy reached a point just west of Everglades City where the gully had washed through the grade. Shovels were hauled out, and the holes had to be filled before the cars could proceed. The end of the grade was reached about sundown, and the first night camp was made there.

Beyond the end of the grade lay nothing but waving saw-grass and that was the sight that greeted the adventurers. The first car drove off the end of the grade into the muck, traveled about 100 yards or so, and then mired down to its running boards. The second car followed with exactly the same result, and it appeared that the project was doomed to failure before it had really gotten started. A delegation was sent into Everglades City to see if Barron Collier would send wide-track Cletrac tractors to pull the mired automobiles out. Collier agreed, and all of the cars, with the exception of the Elcar which was too firmly stuck, were dragged by the tractor to more solid ground where they could proceed under their own power.

Contrary to general belief, the Everglades is not a giant swamp. In fact, in dry seasons it is sometimes very difficult to find drinking water. The 1923 trail blazers often had to shovel

down through the layer of coquina rock that underlies most of the glades country. Usually water was found two or three feet from the surface. When the shovel struck the rock, the muck top soil was scooped out and water then seeped up through the rock. In a couple of hours there would be a small pool at the bottom of the well or hole. So as not to disturb the muck still in the well, it was necessary to reach down and scoop up a cupful at a time, being careful not to disturb the water more than necessary. The author was elected water boy, and it was his job when camp was made to start digging for water. It took some time to fill the water canteens, but it was better than to use liquid from the stagnant pools. In an emergency, long reeds could be forced down through the muck and soil and when sucked gently, some water, lukewarm and dirty, could be pulled up.

Underground streams running near the surface, from north to south, caused the cypress to grow in strands from a quarter of a mile to two miles in width. These strands began with small pole cypress on the edges and large full-grown trees in the center, and, of course, a maze of cypress-knees. There was no way of knowing how wide a strand might be when the convoy reached it, so scouts were sent ahead to find a location where the strand was narrow and fairly easy to cut through. When the group reached the first strand, everyone grabbed an axe and began chopping the small cypress poles on the edge. It was exciting and fun the first time such a project began, but the bouyant, gleeful spirit did not last very long. At the time, the author was five-feet two, weighed 110 pounds, and had absolutely no experience in chopping down trees. He slammed his axe into a tree, only to have it stick there. Try as he could, he could not move it. One of the Indians, watching, said: "Think so, White man damn fool." One of the men, anxious to reach the trees first, tried to jump over the roots and knees, but he only stumbled and cut himself in the knee with his axe. Unable to work, the injured man was installed in one of the cars, and he had the task of sharpening the axes. Being the lightest man in the group, it was soon evident that the author's services as a chopper did not amount to much, and he was delegated to drive the cars through the narrow path that the choppers cut.

When a car bogged down and wheels started to spin and sink deeper in the mud, limbs and brush were cut to build a corduroy road. Sometimes the convoy was able to travel only a mile or so a day. Shortly after the cars moved into the glades the fenders were removed since they became so thin and dented they were more of a hazard than a help. Like a command pilot, the author sat behind the wheel of the first car and gunned the motor while a half dozen fellows pushed from the rear. The men were all skinned and bruised from the vicious sawgrass. They were learning pioneering the hard way.

The men had expected to see a great many snakes and alligators, but they only encountered one rattler on high ground where scrub palmetto was abundant. The single alligator they saw was in one of the canals beside the grade on their first day out. When the headwater of the Turner River was reached, they found a large pool with literally dozens of large and small moccasins frolicking in the water or sunning themselves on the bank. One of the men killed two of the larger snakes with a shovel, but this so angered the Indians they threatened to desert then and there. It took much arguing on the part of Indian Agent Hanson to calm the natives down. He explained the Indians never kill wantonly, and that they respected the snakes because they contended that the reptiles had more right to be there than humans. This was the home of the animals, reptiles, and birds; they were there even before the Indians, and to kill them without cause was a crime. Little Billy, the Indian guide, who advanced this philosophy, explained that snakes intended no harm, and that if the men minded their own business and left them alone, the snakes would mind theirs. To demonstrate his confidence in the snakes, he walked barefoot among them, head erect, and maintaining a steady pace. The snakes made no effort to bite him, but simply wiggled out of his path. Little Billy said the snake usually sees you before you see him, and as long as you act as if you had not seen him and was not interested in him, he would not attack. He called the rattlesnake the "kind" snake because he said it always gave warning before it struck. A few days after this incident with the moccasins, the author had another snake encounter. In camp one evening, he dug several water holes, and filled the water bags. The next morning he went to one of the holes to get more

water before breaking camp. Just as he was about to put his arm down into the hole, he looked and saw a large moccasin curled up in the little pool of water. Fortunately, he looked before he extended his hand.

All the men were interested in the beliefs of the Indians and in their philosophy of life. They found that in many ways the Indians were more honorable and more trustworthy than the average white man. They respected all life and attempted to protect it. The Indians took only such game as they needed for food; overkills, such as that practiced by white hunters, was considered a sin by the Indians and they believed that the Great Spirit would surely punish them. One member of the trail blazers carefully wrapped his watch and pocketbook in a handkerchief and placed them carefully beneath his pillow each night, fearing the Indian guides might steal his possessions. Hanson rebuked him, however, saying that he could leave these items out in the open on a stump and that the Indians would never touch them unless they had been associating with white men. They had learned to lie, cheat, and steal from the whites; the Indian code of personal behavior was much stricter than the whites and any breach was promptly punished. The Indians' Supreme Being or God is a spirit that permeates *all* life on earth, from the tiniest blade of grass to man himself. The Indians believe that death releases mortal man to a life of spirit in a better land.

When the convoy drove out of Fort Myers, the trail blazers had thought that they were beginning a journey that would last about three days, but it began to extend much beyond that. In fact, two weeks later they were still out in the bush. One afternoon, while a group was attempting to cut a path through the cypress strand, a severe storm hit. The author had been left in camp to keep the fires going and to prepare lunch for the hungry woodsmen when they returned. The wind howled and the rain came down in buckets. Of course, the fire was quickly extinguished in spite of anything that the author could do to keep it alive. When the gang returned, soaked to the skin, and eager for a cup of hot coffee, they found nothing. One of the Indian guides again had reason to comment: "White man, damn fool." He then showed the author how to keep a fire going in a storm. Stepping over a dead pine, he hacked away with a

hand axe until he reached the heart of the tree, from which he removed a handful of pay-rich chips. In a short time, he had a roaring fire ablaze, all ready for coffee.

Since progress had been so slow, the group ran out of most of its food. There was some coffee, salt, sugar, and cereal, but little else. For days the men had been urging the Indians to kill a deer or a wild turkey. However, the two Seminoles would look in the grub wagon, check the stores before they went hunting, and they always returned saying "no catch." Then, when there was practically no food left, they left at daylight one morning, and in less than an hour they had returned with a plump deer, a bag of cattail roots, and some swamp cabbage. From then on the men ate venison and the native "vegetables" for breakfast, lunch, and supper. They also had a few wild turkeys that were delicious, and they enjoyed one meal of frog legs and fish. Food was plentiful and varied in the glades, but you had to know where and how to acquire it.

The men had expected to be molested and tormented by insects, especially mosquitoes, and they slept under mosquito nets which they found were really not necessary; there were few insects of any kind to contend with. Dragon flies were everywhere, and perhaps they kept the other flying insects under control. The only major problem was in the cypress. When you slammed an axe into a tree, you let loose a shower of fuzzy green worms that cascaded down on your head, neck, and arms, and could leave a painful sting. No large animals were encountered. At night bobcat and cougar cries were heard nearby, but none were ever seen. Birds were plentiful-mostly water birds, cranes and herons-but they stayed far away from the group and were only seen feeding in swamp areas or in flight. One small flight of roseta spoon bills was noticed. The most common bird seen was the little white heron.

The trail meandered here and there, and the convoy travelled the route that seemed the easiest. They crossed and recrossed the present Tamiami Trail, and at one point a marker was placed to indicate the halfway point between Everglades City and the Miami grade.

About two-thirds way across the glades, the convoy sighted a plane obviously trying to locate the party, but the men were unable to get a fire going in time so as to identify their loca-

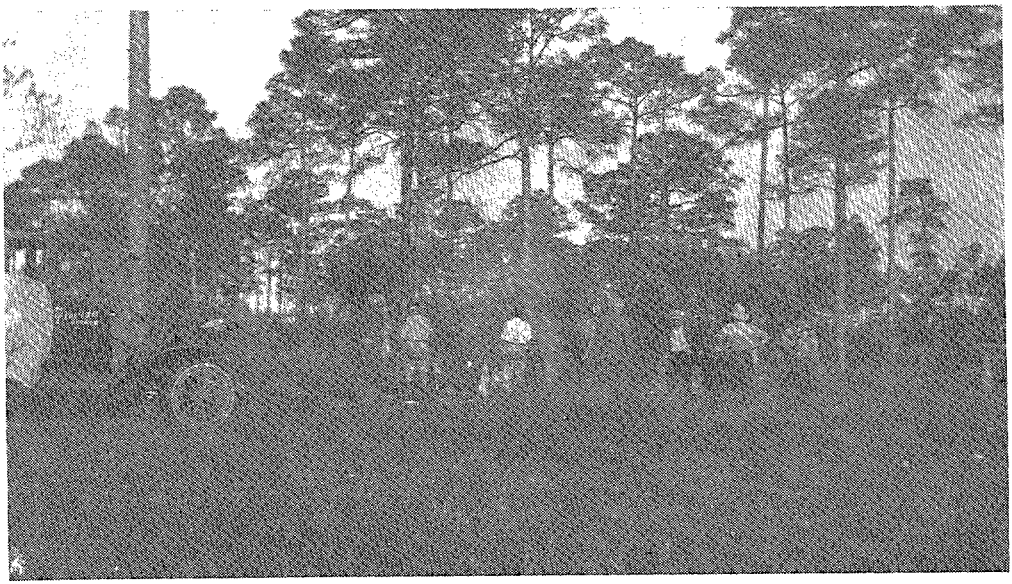
tion. The group was never lost, however, and they always knew approximately where they were, even if they had no means of informing the outside world. Finally they reached a knoll about ten miles west of the Miami grade, and sent scouts ahead to let everyone know that they were all right. Maurice Hyer and the author were chosen to make the trip on foot. Although they were now hardened by experience, this long trek on foot proved one of their toughest assignments. The author remembered that he walked and walked through the swamp and sawgrass until he thought he would "surely drop of exhaustion." Without either food or water, the men finally climbed up the Miami grade to find a convict camp. The guards recognized the men which the papers and people had been writing and talking about and they provided a meal of chili and beans, which the author remembers as one of the "best meals I ever had in my life." Cars were summoned from Miami to meet and bring the two men into the city. Since they were unexpected there was no immediate celebration and there was no one to greet them. They did not mind, however; they were just happy to be back in civilization. Meanwhile, the rest of the men were still out in the Everglades trying to move towards the coast as rapidly as possible, and for them a welcome party was planned.

The bottle of grape juice intended for William Jennings Bryan was never delivered; about halfway across the glades, when all of the food supplies were nearly exhausted, someone remembered the grape juice, and it quickly disappared. Nobody knew what happened to the white ribbon, but the author recalls that it "was the best grape juice I ever tasted."

Communications in 1923 in South Florida were somewhat limited. The outside world had no knowledge of how the trail blazers were fairing in their undertaking. Exaggerated stories were released from Miami by a few news service writers, who, drawing on their imagination, pictured the men as lost in the wilderness and fighting for their lives against wild animals, alligators, and snakes. One account told of their capture by Seminoles who resented their intrusion into their area and were holding them captive. Most reports concluded that the convoy was hopelessly lost, without food or help. This was all 'hog-wash" and untrue; the men knew generally where they were all the time, and they were only delayed because of the difficult

The expedition is launched.

A break for lunch.



Trail blazers
and guides

Mired
Motorists

terrain. One dispatch out of Miami stated that seven women, wives of party members, were in the group. This was also untrue, but it caused some eyebrows to be raised, and there were questions and humorous remarks when the travellers finally emerged.

When reports of the "lost" convoy were released, planes were sent out from Miami trying to locate the men. Hidden in the cypress, the men had seen one of the planes, but they were unable to signal it. A plane had spotted the group about twenty miles from the Miami grade, and another dropped food and supplies. The men appreciated everything, especially the coffee. They had never been without food of some kind, thanks to the Indian guides. The gasoline supply had run low, but the fuel drained from the tanks of the abandoned cars enabled the trail blazers finally to make it to the Miami grade.

It is likely that very few of the group ever expected to see the Tamiami Trail become a reality in spite of their efforts; certainly not within the few short years after the 1923 expedition. The men had encountered the hardships and problems first-hand, and they found it hard to believe that the engineers could complete the road building project with as little cost and effort as they did. In 1928 the author, along with other members of the group, journeyed to Everglades City to celebrate the actual opening of the Tamiami Trail. It was a momentous occasion with a parade and celebration. Barron Collier paid for most of the celebration cost, and he played host to the original Tamiami trail blazers.[4]

Just how much the Tamiami trail blazing expedition had to do with the final completion of the highway is a matter of opinion. However, it did develop nation-wide publicity, and it centered attention on the need for such a highway. From this point of view, it was highly successful. It was estimated that the motorcade brought 35,000 columns of front-page publicity in American and European newspapers, and film-clips of the departure from Fort Myers and the arrival in Miami were shown in movie houses throughout the world. The Florida legislature endorsed the proposed highway as a state project, and much less concern over its financing was voiced. From these points of view, the trailblazing was highly successful.

4. This group held an annual get-together.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio

Joseph Adler (Ph.D. dissertation) -study of David Yulee's senatorial career.

Florida Atlantic University

Allan Craig (faculty) -study of the vegetation and geography of Pavillion Key.

Donald W. Curl (faculty) -Pioneer Life in *Southeast Florida,* edited version of Charles Pierce's memoirs. Introduction by Theodore Pratt.

Douglas S. Gatlin (faculty) -"The Rise of the Two Party Legislative System The Case of Florida, 1967-1968," in Innovations *in State Legislatures* edited by James A. Robinson, and "The 1968 Presidential Election in Florida" (University of Chicago Press) .

Cooper C. Kirk (faculty) —"Presbyterianism and the Early Florida Wilderness Church."

Rafael Prohias (faculty) -study of social organization and stratification of Cuban blacks in Miami.

William Sears (faculty) -continuing study of the prehistoric aboriginal ceremonial center at Fort Center.

John M. Scheidell (faculty) -study of the special efficiency in school district design and plant location in Palm Beach County, and "Forecasting and Decision Models for Analysis of the Socioeconomic and Environmental Impact of Major Economic Activities: International Jetport in South Florida."

Audrey Sublett (faculty) -continuing study of the demographic and pathologic analysis of bone matter from Fort Center.

Florida State University

Richard J. Duckworth (M.A. thesis) -continuing study of "The Administration of Governor Fred Cone."

James W. Dunn (Ph.D. dissertation) -"The Impact of the

New Deal on Florida Politics and Government, 1932-1941."

Bonnie E. Fennelly (M.A. thesis) -continuing study of "Negro Education in Florida from 1877-1900."

James Gaskins (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of "The Agrarian Movement in Florida."

Rogers C. Harlan (M.A. thesis) -continuing study of "A Military History of East Florida during the Governorship of Enrique White."

Melvin E. Hughes (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of "The Florida Election of 1928."

Jesse T. Mann (M.A. thesis) -"Negro Land Tenure in Post-Civil War Fernandina."

Janice B. Miller (M.A. thesis) -continuing study of "Spanish East Florida under Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 1789-1795."

David Pingree (Ph.D. dissertation) -"Executive Reorganization in Florida."

William Warren Rogers (faculty) -"Jack Turner: The Negro and Reconstruction in the Deep South."

Michael Schene (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of "The Political Career of Park Trammel in Florida."

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty) -"Florida in the Era of Reconstruction."

J. Barton Starr (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of "The American Loyalists in West Florida, 1775-1785."

William N. Thurston (Ph.D. dissertation) -"Maritime Activity in Nineteenth Century Florida."

J. Leitch Wright (faculty) -"Britain and the American Frontier, 1783-1815."

Kennesaw Junior College, Marietta, Georgia

Robert Akerman (faculty) -continuing study of "Race Relations and Politics in Florida during the 1930s and 1940s."

Samford University, Birmingham, Alabama

Michael Carter (M.A. thesis) -continuing study of "Jerry Carter and the Townsend Movement in Florida."

Wayne Flynt (faculty) -studies of U. S. Senator Duncan U. Fletcher (accepted for publication, Florida State University Studies) and Governor Sidney J. Catts.

Ray Robbins (M.A. thesis) -continuing study of "The Socialist Party in Florida, 1900-1916."

University of Florida

Kenneth E. Anderson (M.A. thesis-completed) -"The American Eagle: A Unique Florida Weekly Newspaper."

James T. Brooks (Ph.D. dissertation)-continuing study of "A Rhetorical Study of the Speaking of Governors Napoleon Bonaparte Broward of Florida, Hoke Smith of Georgia, and Charles B. Aycock of North Carolina."

Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Baynard Kendrick—continuing study of "A History of Citrus and Vegetable Industries in Florida."

Manning J. Dauer (faculty) -continuing study of the "Effects of Reapportionment on the Florida Legislature, 1963-1971."

James Dennis (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of "Florida Governmental Reorganization, 1967-1 970."

William Dunn (Ph.D. dissertation) -"Lot of the Free Negro, 1780-1800."

Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty) -reports on the excavations of slave cabins on Cumberland and Fort George Islands.

Virginia B. Fishpaw (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of "The Uncommon Daughter of the Great Commoner: A Biography of Ruth Bryan Owen Rhode."

Peter D. Klingman (Ph.D. dissertation) -study of "Josiah T. Walls: Florida Congressman in Reconstruction."

Eugene Lyons (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of "The Crown in Spanish Florida, 1565-1605."

Judith McMurray (M.A. thesis) -report on the excavations of the Mission of San Juan del Puerta, Fort George Island.

Joseph M. Perry (faculty) -continuing study of "The Economic Determinants of the Frontier Movement in Nineteenth Century Florida," and continuing study of "The Relationships Between Staple Goods Prices and Homesteading in Florida, 1865-1874."

Jerry C. Ray (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of The Rhetoric of David Levy Yulee, Florida Statesman."

Donald Richie (M.A. thesis) -study of advertising in Florida.

Bruce Rosen (Ph.D. dissertation) -continuing study of "Development of Negro Education in Florida During Reconstruction."

Richard D. Shelton (M.A. thesis) -continuing study of "A Critical Analysis of How Selected Florida Newspapers Reported the Cuban Invasion of Missile Crisis."

Jean J. Sneed (M.A. thesis-completed) -"The Florida Newspaper Woman of 1970."

Claude C. Sturgill (faculty) -continuing study of "British Garrisons in Eighteenth Century Florida."

John Todd (Ph.D. dissertation) -"Effects of Reapportionment in the Florida Legislature, 1965-1971."

University of Miami

Dianne Deutsch (M.A. thesis-completed) -"Andrew Jackson's Invasions of Spanish Florida."

Sarah H. Hoo (M.A. thesis) -"The History of the Negro in Dade County."

Robert McKenna (M.A. thesis) -"Obstacles *to the* Organization of Labor in Florida."

J. Riis Owre (faculty) -translating selected documents in the Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

Arva Moore Parks (M.A. thesis) -"The History of Coconut Grove to 1927."

Charleton W. Tebeau (faculty) -"The First Fifty Years of Temple Israel, Miami."

University of South Florida

Martin L. LaGodna (faculty) -"Reorganization of the Florida Department of Agriculture."

University of Washington, *Seattle, Washington*

Colonel Robert Mattie (Ph.D. dissertation) -study of mis-

sionaries in East and West Florida during 1st Spanish period.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Durward Long (faculty) -study of labor in twentieth century Florida.

Washington State University, Pullman, Washington

Richard L. Hume (faculty) -study of the "Black. and Tan (Florida) Constitutional Convention of 1868."

University of West Florida

Donald H. Bragaw (faculty) -"Status of Negroes in Pensacola, 1900-1920."

Ernest F. Dibble (faculty) -"Don Francisco Moreno."

Lucius Ellsworth (faculty) -"Technological Development and the Pensacola Brick Industry, 1850-1860."

James K. Polk (M.A. thesis) -"Pensacola Commerce and Industry, 1821-1860."

Joan Scott (M.A. thesis) -"Santa Rosa County, 1900-1920."

Dian Shelley (M.A. thesis) -"Creole Colored in Three Gulf Coast Cities, 1803-1857."

BOOK REVIEWS

See Yankeetown: History and Reminiscences. By Tom Knotts. (Yankeetown: Withlacoochee Press, 1970, vi, 151 pp. Preface, appendices, illustrations, bibliography, index. $3.36.)

Yankeetown is a word that puzzles and excites the imagination. Reams of delightful newspaper and magazine copy have been devoted by the press of the nation to this picturesque town of Levy County which is located just north of Citrus County. Incorporated in 1925, it fronts on the Gulf of Mexico, adjoins Crackertown (now in Inglis), and is quite involved in the history of the Withlacoochee River.

Tom Knotts, a resident of this intriguing town since 1923, has brought out the last word on Yankeetown in his book which is appropriately named. It is an absorbing study of "Yankee meets Cracker," and the writing obviously was a labor of love. Knotts, a University of Florida graduate, though not a professional historian by trade, makes up for this fact by his zeal for research and by his long involvement as a resident and civic leader in Yankeetown and Central Florida. *See Yankeetown* is dedicated to A. F. Knotts, founder and first mayor of Yankeetown. The author is a grand nephew of the founder and the son of Eugene and Norma Knotts. His father has served as mayor since 1937, and his mother has made a contribution in her own right to the area.

In his delightful account of a frontier setting turned modern, Tom Knotts presents a host of persons including Timucuans, Seminoles, Crackers, Yankees, smuggled Chinese, moonshiners, Panfilo de Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, William Bartram, Elvis Presley, Richard Powell, John F. Kennedy, and Richard M. Nixon. In addition, a rich variety of wildlife parades through the book, including owls, panthers, alligators, mullet, buffalo, oxen, razorbacks, and dogs. The book also includes numerous facts such as the 1950 hurricane that dumped 38.7 inches of rain in twenty-four hours.

A welcome contribution, it is written in a conversational

tone and contains only one serious weakness-lack of maps. Much of the material is first-hand, and the colorful pictures from the Knotts Collection are original. Having authored a good first-effort, Floridians can look forward to a second book by Mr. Knotts which will be about Indians.

ERNEST H. JERNIGAN

Central Florida (Ocala) Junior College

Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties: Bulletin No. I. (Tallahassee: Department of State, Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, 1970. 43 pp. Illustrations, bibliography.

The Division of Archives, History and Records Management, which was established in the Florida governmental reorganization program in 1969, has been publishing *Archives and History* News since January 1970. Now it has issued its first scholarly bulletin, which announces the full arrival upon the scene of the state agency whose mission it is to discover and preserve the history of Florida.

In the first paper of *Bulletin* No. I, Carl J. Clausen, who is state marine archaeologist for the division's bureau of historic sites and properties, analyzes artifacts collected from the Seminole War post of Fort Pierce. Since only heaps of sand now mark the site after repeated souvenier-hunting, we can indeed be thankful for the preservation of this collection. Mr. Clausen has proven himself very adept at handling materials from disturbed sites-as witness his work at the Spanish salvage camp at Sebastian Beach and among the scattered remains of the 1715 and 1857 shipwrecks. He seems equally at home in historical investigation. He has drawn from and contributed to the literature on military buttons, fort sites, and firearms with this work, which helps the historian-reader to visualize life in a Seminole War fort. It should prove most instructive in the discovery and examination of other forts and encampments of this period.

The second work by L. Ross Morrell and B. Calvin Jones, demonstrates another major concern of the new Florida division -Spain's great seventeenth-century Franciscan mission effort in

Florida. This emphasis has led to the identification and excavation of several of the Apalachee sites, including that of San Juan de Aspalaga, which was located some seventeen miles southeast of Tallahassee. Mr. Morrell, state archaeologist, and Mr. Jones of the bureau have concentrated upon the physical structure of the mission building. Utilizing previous fieldwork and demonstrating solid knowledge of the historical setting, the writers' investigations enabled them to reconstruct the means and type of construction and to present a conjectured floor plan and elevation of the mission. The charred wood remains offer mute testimony to the mission's violent end; it was destroyed by British Governor Moore of South Carolina in the summer of *1704.*

Both papers exhibit an ethnohistorical approach; they constitute valuable pieces in the mosaic of Florida history. Certainly this kind of work could be expedited by more meaningful and inclusive indices of all documentation relating to Florida, so that there might be more ready access to the materials of history for students from any discipline. This first publication from the new agency clearly establishes its credentials, and sets a commendable standard. May there be many more!

EUGENE LYON

Indian River (Fort Pierce) Junior College

Aftermath of Revolution: British Policy Toward the United States, 1783-1795. By Charles R. Ritcheson. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1970. xiv, 505 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

"To the victor belong the spoils!" How, then, explain America's failure to secure the full rich fruits of her triumph over Brtain in the War of the American Revolution? The ready answer, from 1783 to the present, has been "perfidious Albion!" -a gratifying cliche that covers a multitude of sins and a vast quantity of historical writing. To the latter, Charles R. Ritcheson has now contributed a magisterial volume which recounts in generous detail the tortured course of Anglo-American diplomacy between the Treaty of Paris and the Jay Treaty.

The end of the Revolutionary War left unresolved a set

of problems well-calculated to baffle diplomats under the best of circumstances: West Indian trading rights lost and privileges sought, southern slaves sequestered and British debts unpaid, occupied forts in the Old Northwest and Indians on the war-path-not forgetting the sovereign state of Vermont! The Confederation was weak; it could neither demand respect abroad nor control the states at home, and Britons as well as ardent American patriots found cause to welcome the advent of the new federal regime. Yet if union bred strength, it also brought to the fore a dangerous partisanship between Anglophile Hamiltonians and Jeffersonian Republicans who loved not England. Although the aggravations of Citizen Genet's catastrophic mission went far toward offsetting the exigencies of Britain's war against Jacobin France, by 1794 war seemed as likely as peace between the English-speaking peoples-and equally dangerous for both. Happily, "two fair, honorable, and reasonable men," Lord Grenville and John Jay, reached an understanding whereby "substantial and matching advantages accrued to both sides," and an Anglo-American rapprochement was achieved.

Ritcheson's narrative breaks no new ground; it necessarily follows the routes surveyed by S. F. Bemis and A. L. Burt, but it rises above nationalistic limitations and opens a truly trans-Atlantic panorama. Ritcheson is most sympathetic toward the statesmen of old England whose broader imperial vision was first set forth by the Earl of Shelburne, then controverted by the mercantilistic arguments of Charles Jenkinson, ultimately to be fulfilled by the calm determination of Lord Grenville. Less sensitive to the nuances of American politics, Ritcheson finds his villain in Thomas Jefferson (pace Julian Boyd!), a chauvinistic schemer whose hatred of Britain might well have led to war. Extensive and careful study of the British sources enables Ritcheson to challenge older interpretations by American historians, and he is at his best when dealing with the British side of a question. *Aftermath of Revolution* is a scholarly corrective and a balanced explication at the same time, a work which must excite professional attention and win a host of appreciative readers.

ROBERT R. REA

Auburn University

Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation. By Merrill D. Peterson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. x, 1,072 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

Here is an admirable "life and times," a book of enduring value to scholar and layman alike. It is leisurely, reflective, and equally penetrating on Jefferson's ideas and activities. It is organized with great care, blending an extended narrative with studies in depth of the patriarch's interests, personal relationships, and attitudes where appropriate. Peterson's extraordinarily long book has good pace and stimulating rhythm. The prose is always lucid, often elegant. Unhappily, there are an unusual number of typographical errors, and at one point "mortality tables" are transmogrified into "morality tables"!

Jefferson emerges in these pages as a real revolutionary, albeit paradoxically a mute one. The author of the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, and many other ringing pronouncements "was remarkably inarticulate about the processes of thought that conducted him to the revolutionary event. Perhaps he did not understand them himself. Their channels were intricate, devious, and partly hidden from consciousness." (p. 45) As Peterson remarks in his preface, Jefferson's life "exhibited seemingly bewildering conflicts and contradictions, and it is not easy to resolve these elements in the flow of experience." To take merely one example, the Sage of Monticello could urge the emancipation of slaves from high principle and humanitarian feeling, but he was incapable of providing practical leadership for such an unpopular cause in Virginia. "That required moral enthusiasm and political audacity he neither possessed nor trusted. At bottom he did not care enough to sacrifice himself, or even put himself to great inconvenience, for the freedom of slaves, certainly not in the declining years of life." (pp. 999-1,000)

Peterson has written a judicious and balanced book, easily the best single-volume *Jefferson* available, and unlikely to be surpassed in this century. I do, however, question the author's view that there was no crisis of legitimacy in America in 1776 (p. 95). Jefferson himself regarded Virginia's revolutionary constitution as illegitimate-"a mere ordinance or statute with

no permanent and binding power on the government"-and many other pieces of evidence might be invoked to suggest that the American Revolution as a psychological event hinged upon a series of crises of legitimacy. Why else did Jefferson's mind, and those of his distinguished contemporaries, so often seek historical precedents and legal authorities (cf. p. 85).

Jefferson was also fascinated by the science of agriculture. In 1787 he wrote that "agriculture is our wisest pursuit." And later, "The greatest service which can be rendered any country is, to add a useful plant to its culture." Among all the salons of Paris his favorite was that of Comtesse de Tessé, at her country place, Chaville, because she was an avid horticulturist and Chaville a "botanical paradise." I am inclined to believe that Jefferson, and George Washington, and George Logan of Stenton, and William Livingston, and Timothy Dwight, and John Taylor of Caroline ("'There is a spice of fanaticism in my nature upon two subjects-agriculture and republicanism") take us to the very heart of the American Enlightenment, which was in its quintessence an *agrarian* Enlightenment. Benjamin Franklin was really a European philosophe, equally at home in London, Philadelphia, or Paris. Jefferson, by contrast, was the truly American philosophe and Nature was his watchword. An urbane Arcadia was more important to him than urban arcades. If we are ever to define and understand the Enlightenment of the young republic, we must investigate its rural attributes, its "country ideology," its devotion to scientific farming, its penchant for natural history and natural law. Where else to begin than with Thomas Jefferson?

MICHAEL KAMMEN

Cornell University

The Amistad Affair. By Christopher Martin. (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1970. 240 pp. Bibliography, notes, index. $5.95.)

The re-writing of history to include lost, overlooked, or suppressed aspects of Negro life is currently a popular-and laudable-project among historians. The motive behind the effort is usually the idea that all men are created equal but have

been made unequal by society, and the job of the modern historian is to restore the Negro to his equal place, at least so far as American history is concerned.

Christopher Martin in this story of black mutiny aboard a slave ship in 1839 seems to be working toward this goal. Unfortunately Martin is not a historian and his book lacks documentation necessary to support the tale. Detractors of the black man maintain that his slave status in this country for nearly 200 years was due to an uncivilized nature and unwillingness to change his own lot. It is this attitude that Martin is attacking by attempting to record a revolt by the Negro against his slave condition, much as others have attempted revisions of the roles of Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey.

The *Amistad* was a slave ship out of Cuba transporting a cargo of blacks recently enslaved in Africa. During the voyage the slaves mutinied and took over the ship. They tried to sail back to Africa by forcing one of their Cuban "owners" to navigate for them. The wily Latin changed course each night bringing the ship closer and closer to the United States coast. Eventually *the Amistad* was captured by an American naval vessel and the affair" began. For nearly two years American courts attempted to determine whose property was the ship and whether the thirty-nine blacks aboard could also be considered property.

The months of litigation involved personages as diverse as abolitionist Lewis Tappan, John Quincy Adams, and President Martin Van Buren. To the undisguised pleasure of author Martin the results were a "victory" for freedom, humanity, etc., all of which is of course quite meritorious. The problem is that Martin in the very beginning announces there can be only one possible outcome, but his facts show the case was bitterly contested, the outcome in doubt, and the settlement never really accepted by the losing side. The reader would expect Martin to have presented new evidence to support the court decisions, or to have re-interpreted the evidence. He has done neither. In fact his sources are skeletal and his bibliography includes just nineteen items. Only nine could be considered sources, and one is a historical encyclopedia.

One wishes that Martin, with his substantial literary abilities, had perhaps engaged a good solid researcher to help him

out. Although he has written presidential biographies and military history, Martin is essentially a writer. He has been an editor, publisher, correspondent, and writer-producer for television. What is most frightening about the book is that it is well-written. In this sense it is dangerous because the reader cannot help but get absorbed in the author's narrative, and soon be beguiled by the well-told tale.

MARTIN M. LAGODNA

University of South Florida

Industrial Slavery in the Old South. By Robert S. Starobin. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. ix, 320 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. $7.95.)

In this study Professor Starobin has examined the nature of slavery from a new perspective-the use of slave labor in southern industries. Southern industries emerged as early as the 1790s and the campaign for expansion intensified at times when Southerners felt least secure with the Union. By the 1850s approximately five percent of the slave population was working in industrial positions. Some of these blacks were hired from their masters, but a majority were owned directly by the entrepreneurs. Though some Southerners argued that slaves could not be used effectively in factories, Starobin shows that businesses operated by slave labor were generally profitable. Most industrial entrepreneurs employing slaves reached, and many greatly exceeded, an annual rate of return of six percent. According to Starobin slave labor was as efficient as the free labor available to Southerners at the time.

That slave workers were efficient does not suggest that they were happy with their status. Industrial slaves resisted as vigorously and as often as plantation hands. Nevertheless, a relatively tractable work force was created by a variety of means, including the use of incentives, and when necessary, brutal repression. Professor Starobin found that in many cases the level of industrial oppression exceeded that on the plantations. Indeed, Starobin suggests that the plantation slave's life may have been superior to that of the industrial slave in many ways. Industrial

development frequently required harder and longer working days, and "clearly posed greater hazards than did farming." Furthermore, Starobin questions Richard C. Wade's contention that urban bondsmen were better fed and clothed than rural slaves and had a higher standard of living. Most industrial slaves, he said, lived at a subsistence level. Their shelter, clothing and food hardly met their needs and medical care was no more adequate than for plantation slaves.

Industrial Slavery in the Old South is a readable, well-researched, well-documented book. It is not a definitive work. Further study of industrial slavery is necessary. Nevertheless, Professor Starobin's study will become required reading for all serious students of slavery in the United States.

JOE M. RICHARDSON

Florida State University

The World the Slaveholders Made. By Eugene D. Genovese. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969. xiii, 274 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, notes, index. $5.95.)

With an avowed intent of going beyond race, Genovese has produced two stimulating essays on the nature of antebellum southern society. In the first essay, he analyzes similarities and dissimilarities of North American slavery to that produced in Latin America, Europe, and Africa. Stressing the similarities, he founds that everywhere slavery was a systematic form of class oppression. Modes of production and economic institutions were more important in the development of slavery than religious or political institutions. Identifying slave regimes as essentially seigneural, he believes the economic institutions of the antebellum South were similar to those based on serfdom in Eastern Europe. But in America, particularly in the United States, he insists slavery had profound racial overtones which gave it a dimension not found in European systems. Genovese suggests slavery was harder to eradicate in the United States than in other areas, primarily because slaveholders ruled in the South. Elsewhere, slaveholders comprised only one of several groups within the ruling class, depriving it of the forceful, united leadership necessary to defend adequately the system.

In his second essay, Genovese focuses on George Fitzhugh's writings as the logical culmination of antebellum thought. Insisting that Fitzhugh has been misunderstood by historians, Genovese writes that Fitzhugh believed the South was developing a pre-bourgeois society. Composed of small units, no larger than a state, economically self-sufficient, it would be ruled by a paternalistic class. Genovese believes the South nearly achieved Fitzhugh's ideal-a classical slave society-but failed because that section could not cope with developing world capitalism.

Genovese succeeds brilliantly in his effort to move the investigation of slavery beyond the question of race, while admitting that it was an important factor. Further, he had demonstrated that the institutional analyses provided by Tannenbaum and Elkins are inadequate. At the same time, Genovese fails to provide a satisfactory explanation for the harshness of southern slavery, in part because he accepts the paternalistic nature of the peculiar institution set forth by Ulrich B. Phillips. Genovese's contention that slaveholders were opposed to capitalism is unconvincing. They understood and depended on the world market, and attempted to obtain European recognition of the Confederacy by withholding cotton during the American Civil War. Nevertheless, his sophisticated Marxist analysis will have to be considered by any subsequent analysis of slavery.

ROGER D. BRIDGES

Ulysses S. Grant Association
Southern *Illinois University*

The Structure of the Cotton Economy of the Antebellum South. Edited by William N. Parker. (Washington: Agricultural History Society, 1970. 165 pp. Introduction, tables, index. $5.00.)

This valuable group of studies is concerned with the economics of cotton culture and slave labor in the Old South. The four major papers are based upon statistical evidence obtained from samplings of the manuscript census returns for 1850 and 1860. These include Robert E. Gallman's study of self-sufficiency in food production on cotton plantations and the amount of interregional trade necessary to supplement production. Gallman used figures from the 1860 census to estimate animal and

slave diets, slaughter weights, and corn consumption, and from these estimates he concludes that plantations were self-sufficient in corn and pork. The study by Raymond C. Battalio and John Kagel is similar to Gallman's. Individual farm records in South Carolina from the 1860 returns were sampled. Battalio and Kagel find that farms and plantations were largely self-sufficient, producing enough food for home consumption and, in some instances, a surplus which provided food for urban populations.

The third study in this group by James D. Foust and Dale E. Swan concerns productivity and profitability of slave labor. Samples from the 1850 and 1960 schedules were used to compute cotton output per slave from various slaveholding classes. Maintenance costs per slave were estimated, also total capital investment per slave, to determine that slavery was profitable, and that an average overall rate of return on investment in slaves was six percent. The fourth study by Gavin Wright centers upon the concentration of agricultural wealth in the cotton belt. The 1850 and 1860 schedules have been used to determine that planters owned more valuable land than their small-farm neighbors, and that agricultural wealth was unequally distributed because of concentration of slave ownership.

Two short papers follow these four statistical experiments. Diane Lindstrom's study centers upon interregional grain supplies. Statistical data obtained from contemporary railroad reports, newspapers, and periodicals was used to show that the cotton South did not rely upon western grain supplies, which premise refutes the previously held idea that the South was dependent upon western foodstuffs. William N. Parker's paper is a hypothetical treatment of slavery and southern economic development. Parker suggests that had there been free labor instead of slave labor, income distribution would have been completely altered; this alteration could have prompted a market demand for local manufactured goods, thus changing the whole course of economic history for the Old South.

The next two papers are commentaries on the Gallman and Parker studies made by Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese. Engerman doubts the validity (from method of testing) of Gallman's demonstration of self-sufficiency in the cotton South, suggesting that a more valid conclusion would involve a comparison of southern imports of foodstuffs with western

output of foodstuffs to determine the relative importance of this interregional trade. Engerman is also critical of Parker's hypothetical study, suggesting that comparisons of nonslave societies populated by blacks should have been included (for instance, blacks after 1865), using the slave South by comparison, to determine to what degree the free Negro's economic status may have been elevated. Genovese believes that the Gallman and Parker studies are both too purely economic in analysis and are thus void of meaningful historical interpretation. Finally, Morton Rothstein, in the last selection of the book, warns that much work remains to be done for a complete understanding of the subject, and that the new methods of quantitative research used by economic historians have added little in substantive knowledge.

Granted, the new techniques for processing data have revolutionized the methodology applied to antebellum economics and have shown much of the older literature of *the* traditional historians to rest upon mythical interpretation. This does not free the new techniques of misconceptions. Econometric analyses from census records should be reinforced with information from records within the counties from which the samplings were taken. Enough of these records are available (complete inventories of estates of deceased planters) to be used analytically. When this is done, more meaningful results will unfold.

JULIA F. SMITH

Georgia Southern College

Crisis of Fear: Secession in *South* Carolina. By Steven A. Channing. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970. 315 pp. Preface, illustrations, map, bibliography, index. $7.95.)

Professor Channing initially researched and wrote his *Crisis of Fear* as a University of North Carolina doctoral dissertation directed by Joel Williamson. The book has been awarded the Allan Nevins Prize by the Society of American Historians.

In their quest for the explanation of southern secession and the conflict that followed, twentieth century scholars have offered a number of interpretations: Owsley's "Egocentric Sectionalism," Randall's "Blundering Generation," and Donald's "An Excess of Democracy," to name but a few. Yet, Professor

Channing returns to the interpretation held by virtually all northern historians of the Civil War generation. For them, it was obvious that the fundamental cause of secession and war had been the South's peculiar institution.

Channing seeks, however, much more than a reaffirmation of slavery as the primary cause of southern rebellion. "Why slavery was believed to be threatened, why a different structure of race relations than enslavement of the blacks was inconceivable to most whites, what the fears and passions were which were mighty enough to drive a people to revolution"-these are the questions he attempts to answer. That he is largely successful makes his book an outstanding contribution to Civil War historiography.

Through extensive research in private papers, legislative records, and newspaper files, he skillfully guides his reader down the tragic road from John Brown's raid in October 1859 to the meeting of the secession convention in December 1861. The narrative's interlocking thread is fear, an anxious foreboding on the part of Carolinians that the election of a Republican president in 1860 would lead to slavery's destruction. If Negro bondage were to disappear, whites "knew" the end result could only be-in Channing's phrase-"the loathsome touch of amalgamation."

While anxiety over the future of slavery was nothing new, prior to John Brown's raid, most inhabitants of the Palmetto State still felt the North could be counted on not to interfere directly with the peculiar institution. But the events at Harpers Ferry, the apotheois of Brown by northern intellectuals, and the statements of eminent Republicans convinced the political leaders of South Carolina that a break with the North was necessary to preserve their way of life.

The only fault I find with Crisis of *Fear* occurs when its author exceeds the bounds of his research. Even the amount of evidence he presents hardly justifies the assertion that Carolinians were unanimous in favoring disunion. Despite this criticism, Channing's book is essential reading for those who wish to understand the motivations behind the southern drive for independence.

JOHN F. REIGER

University of Miami

The One-Gallused Rebellion: Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896. By William Warren Rogers. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970. x, 354 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, essay on authorities, index. $10.00.)

The emancipation of the Negro and the economic chaos following the Civil War radically altered the role of a previously latent force in Alabama politics-the small farmer. From 1865 to 1890 he sought by non-political means to change the course of the downward spiral which drove many of his class to tenantry and poverty. Every other panacea failing, he at last resorted to politics and Populism. The plight of the farmer and his quest for relief is the subject of Dr. William W. Rogers' latest book, *The One-Gallused Rebellion*. Subtitled "Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896," it is more comprehensive in scope than John B. Clark's 1927 work, *Populism in Alabama*, and places the political revolt of the farmers, which threatened the power of entrenched Bourbon Democracy, in a deeper perspective.

While the first half of the book deals thoroughly with Alabama farmers' naive ventures into the realm of economics and business through the Grange, the Agricultural Wheel, and the Farmers' Alliance, it clearly builds to the denouement of agrarian discontent, the elections from 1890 to 1896. To these Professor Rogers devotes the last half of his book. The latter three organizations were national in scope and through them Rogers adumbrates the plight of the farmers as a national problem. Belatedly the Alabama legislature created a state agricultural department and by the appointment of Reuben F. Kolb as its second commissioner, the Bourbons created their nemisis. Kolb's role in *The One-Gallused Rebellion* is understandably important, but Professor Rogers has skillfully worked into the narrative men like Joseph C. Manning, William H. Skaggs, and *a* host of reform newspaper editors, Republicans, and Negro politicians. In fact, one of the most vivid and lively chapters deals with the free-swinging journalists whose zeal for reform was seldom equalled by the refinement of their literary style.

Fusion with the Republicans and accommodation by the Democrats effectively ended the Populist party in Alabama following the 1896 election, but Professor Rogers correctly sees the legacy of the agrarian revolt in subsequent Alabama social and

political history, and with clarity becoming an historian, he views the role of the Negro in post-bellum Alabama politics. It is also interesting to note that in spite of evidently extensive research he did not find strong anti-semitism in nineteenth century Alabama politics. Clearly it is the Bourbon Democrats who are made the villains of the piece. By controling the machinery of government, they were able to manipulate the Negro vote, and by unvirtuous means maintained the "virtuous and intelligent," that is, themselves, in political power. Professor Rogers allows no extenuations only to this group.

As Rogers points out, the agrarian revolt was both economic and political. The economic aspects of the revolt were largely manifested in the Grange, the Alliance, the Wheel, the state agricultural society, and the state agriculture department; agrarian political interests were represented in the Populist Party, by the Jeffersonian Democrats, and to some measure by the regular Democratic Party. Added to this on the local level were the two branches of the Republican Party and the gold and silver split in the regular Democracy. Further to complicate matters, fusions and alliances on the national level did not always correspond to those on the state level. Rogers has carefully threaded his way through this mystic maze so that the uninitiated can follow the tortuous developments with minimum confusion.

The critical essay on sources and the full footnoting not only indicate Professor Rogers' careful research but also give an excellent picture of resources available for other detailed studies in southern history.

MILO B. HOWARD, JR.

Alabama Department of Archives and History

The South and the Nation. By Pat Watters. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970. xviii, 390 pp. Introduction, bibliography, index. $7.95.)

This is a frustrating book. Ambitiously conceived, *The South and the Nation* is Pat Watters' effort to explore the mind of the South during the changing yet changeless 1960s. Explicitly eschewing "painstaking, scholarly research in the accumulated

findings of other people," Watters instead has elected to build his book from a close examination of area newspapers, his travels throughout the region, and from his work, since 1963, as information director of the Southern Regional Council.

Thus his methodological approach has limited the book's utility. Intuitive perceptions gained from a writer's sensitivity and work can give life to any non-fiction study; but when an author limits himself by exclusive reliance on such a technique he binds himself in a needless intellectual straitjacket while demanding of his senses a breathtaking ubiquity. Had Watters' subject been simpler and easier his approach would have been sounder.

Predictably then, when Watters writes of the South of his own experience he writes well and with precision. But one man's South is not every man's South, and when his experience and observations falter, there is too often no help from other scholars and writers to guide Watters through the dark places. His observations about Atlanta's political leadership, a subject Watters knows well, are perceptive and acidulous. One need not agree with all he says of Mayor William Hartsfield, *et.al.,* to know that there is much truth in his judgments. Similarly, his discussion of the newspapers of the South and their notable failure (with some exceptions) to challenge the prejudices of their readers is one of the best parts of the book. Yet even here Watters ignores the rather commendable record of a number of newspapers in the upper South which have attempted to modify virulent racial attitudes; his failure to provide more representative coverage flaws his judgment even when his points are telling.

Watters writes that the central experience of the South's recent change has been its anguished racial struggle; he further contends that the all-consuming racial imbrogilio through which the South is passing is an agony from which the nation could learn and profit. Yet this generalization ignores many differences in the nation's racial dilemmas and needs refinement.

Unqualified generalizations also illuminate the book's lack of focus. It is difficult to tell, however, if the book's haziness follows more from Watters' lack of precision or from the blurred images caused by the South's recent changes. As Watters shows, the nation's industrilaziation has come south, often with baleful effect, while the nation has discovered that southern

racial assumptions are part of a larger national tragedy. Hence, as the South has become less southern, the nation's southern assumptions have been exposed, making the South less distinctive and Watters' task more difficult. Unhappily, the book does not surmount this difficulty.

AUGUSTUS M. BURNS, III

University of Florida

The Sacred Grove: Essays on Museums. By Dillon Ripley. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969. 159 pp. Notes. $5.00.)

American museums face a crisis. While society is increasingly demanding more of these institutions, people throughout the country have become concerned about the purposes of the museum in a rapidly changing society. This slim volume adds perceptively and provocatively to the continuing discussion.

Dillon Ripley, respected secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, summarizes his impressions of the major problems and opportunities of museums, regardless of type, size, or location. While tracing the evolution of the collecting instinct and institutions for housing artifacts, he notes, "the paradox of collections and collectors . . . and research and scholarship" (p. 37). Or to rephrase, he believes the problem of whether "museums can collect dead things and remain alive" (p. 37) has been unresolved since the nineteenth century. The tendency to become the "attic" for a group of people seriously handicaps the museum from fulfilling its purpose to preserve, document, and record, to sponsor original research, and to educate the public. The author warns that museums have made inefficient or ineffective use of their funds and have slowly alienated themselves from the public; many institutions, consequently, have become static or passive centers irrelevant to their society.

The author suggests that museums "must establish themselves as essential educational institutions equal to or supplementary (but still essential) to all levels of educational activities" (p. 86). Acknowledging that some museums have already accomplished this task, he urges his colleagues to discover how to make these institutions more responsive to their culture, to analyze how objects can communicate to the viewer, to develop neighborhood museums designed for the public rather than

elites, and to probe the problem of stimulating man's interest in the contemporary world. Ripley concludes that to survive the museum must become a university, a role this institution formerly played.

This book fulfills its purpose of posing more questions than it answers. The historical survey of the development of museums is based upon solid research. If museums of all sizes and types are to continue, they must seek solutions to problems articulated by thoughtful men such as Ripley. Museums in Florida need to join with their neighbors to define and then develop their roles in the community. A proper first step in this process would be for the interested layman, the academic historian, and the museologist to read and seriously consider the implications of Ripley's observations.

LUCIUS F. ELLSWORTH

University of West Florida

BOOK NOTES

David A. Redding, Presbyterian minister of Flagler Church of St. Augustine, is the author of *Flagler and His Church*. The church is a memorial to Jennie Louise Flagler Benedict who died in 1889. It was the gift of her father, Henry Morrison Flagler. Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, wife of the President, and Vice-President and Mrs. Levi Morton were among the congregation who dedicated the church in 1890. The famed Tiffany stained glass windows were given to the church by Mr. Flagler in 1902. The beautiful gardens surrounding the church were a recent gift of Jean Flagler Matthews, granddaughter of Henry Flagler. Published by Paramount Press, Inc., P. 0. Box 5440, Jacksonville, this beautifully illustrated monograph sells for $2.00. There is also a gift edition, selling for $7.95. Books may also be ordered from the church office.

Yesterday in Florida by Kennie L. Howard is the story of Melrose as Mrs. Howard remembered it during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. She was born in Melrose, the little village on Santa Fe Lake in the lake region of north

central Florida. Her family, the Lambdins, pioneered the area. Melrose was settled after the Civil War by affluent Northerners interested in citrus culture. Attractive homes were built in and around Melrose, and many of these building have survived. The litle town became something of a winter resort, and Mrs. Howard describes the social activity of the community. This is a rambling but interesting account of an almost forgotten era of Florida. Published by Carlton Press of New York, the book sells for $4.00.

Ole 93 are the recollections of General Sumter L. Lowry of Tampa. A native of St. Augustine, Lowry served first as a captain of the Second Florida Infantry on the Mexican border in 1916 and in Europe during World War I. He played an active role in the Florida National Guard, retiring as lieutenant-general in 1952, and in many business and civic organizations in Florida and North Carolina. He ran unsuccessfully for governor of Florida in 1956 and for the United States Congress in 1962. These autobiographical sketches, some going back more than sixty-five years, describe among other things the Florida boom and the disastrous hurricanes of the 1920s and the acquisition of the property outside Starke, which eventually became Camp Blanding during World War II. Privately published in Tampa in 1970, the book is now available in Tampa bookstores and elsewhere. The price is $3.50.

History of Alachua County, 1824-1969 by Jess G. Davis, chairman of the Alachua County Historical Commission, is now available in a new edition. Added is Part IV which includes information on some of the smaller communities surrounding Gainesville and reprinted articles from *the Gainesville Sun* which deal with local history. Also included in this edition is the previously unpublished "Day Book of Reverend William McCormick, *1860." History of Alachua* County may be ordered from Mike's Book Store, Gainesville; the price is $7.95, plus postage.

Florida is the setting for three novels recently published. *Countdown* by Frank G. Slaughter of Jacksonville centers around mythical Spaceport City (the giant aerospace complex

dominated by Cape Kennedy). Dr. Slaughter is one of America's most popular and prolific writers, and Countdown is his fifty-second novel. Among the characters in *Countdown* is a former astronaut whose overpowering ambition is to become governor of Florida. The book is published by Doubleday, and it sells for $6.95. *Afternoon* of a *Loser* is by Tom Pace, a native Floridian. It is a mystery story involving drivers racing in the famed Sebring Grand Prix. The Palm Beach-Miami area also serves as background for this novel. Harper & Row are the publishers, and the price is $4.95. Miami Golden *Boy* is by Herbert Kastle, and, as the title indicates, the scene is Miami Beach "in the height of the season." It is published by Bernard Geis Associates, and the price is $5.95.

Alejandro O'Reilly and *the New Orleans Rebels* by David Ker Texada is the latest publication in the University of Southwestern Louisiana History Series. Lieutenant-General O'Reilly, second governor of Spanish Louisiana, was sent by Charles III *to* restore authority to the former French colony. Before his arrival in New Orleans, there had been an insurrection which resulted in the expulsion of Don Antonio de Ulloa, Spain's first governor. O'Reilly's initial assignment when he arrived in Louisiana was to seek out and punish the rebel leaders. Texada's monograph reconstructs the background of the rebellion and continues through the trial proceedings. It will be of particular interest to scholars of West Florida history. It sells for $2.00, and may be ordered from University of Southwestern Louisiana, P. 0. Box 831, Station, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

The Stubborn Fisherman by Elda May Roberts is the story of George Roberts. Known as "Florida" Roberts, he was one of the best known fishing guides along the Florida and Texas gulf coasts. Among his "regulars" were John Wannamaker of Philadelphia, H. 0. Armour of Chicago, and Babe Ruth, the famed baseball player. There is considerable descriptive material on the Tampa Bay area. Charter fishing boat operations, along with most other Florida enterprises, slumped with the collapse of the boom in 1926, and the Roberts family moved to Texas. Published by Altus Printing Company, Altus, Oklahoma, this book sells for $6.95.

The Gentle Conquistadors is the story of the long trek of Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions- Alonso Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and the black slave Esteban — from Florida to Mexico in the 1530s. Written as "historical fiction," Jeannette Mirsky has utilized all the important primary and secondary accounts of the Narváez expedition. For information on Esteban, Mrs. Mirsky has largely relied on Vaca's *Relacíon*. Thomas Morley is the artist who did the illustrations for the book. Published by Pantheon Books, a division of Random House of *New* York, Gentle *Conquistadors* sells for $4.95.

Con Man or Saint? by John Frasca is the story of Glenn Turner, head of Koskot, the controversial cosmetics company whose main offices are located in the Winter Park-Orlando area. Turner, according to this book, was a sharecropper who turned $5,000 of borrowed money into holdings of $100,000,000, all in a matter of two years. Koskot is today a major Florida industry. It is also one of the largest state employers, and perhaps national employers, of handicapped persons. John Frasca, a resident of Oldsmar and an author of note, is a Pulitzer Prize winner. His book, *The Mulberry Tree*, received the Edgar Allen Poe Award. *Con Man or Saint?* was published by Droke House, Anderson, South Carolina, and it is being distributed by Grosset and Dunlap, New York. It sells for $4.95.

Guide to the Processed Manuscripts **of** *the Tennessee Historical Society* was edited by Harriet Chappell Owsley. It is published jointly by the Tennessee Historical Commission, Tennessee Historical Society, and the Tennessee State Library and Archives. It is of importance to southern and Florida historians since it lists the Andrew Jackson Papers, the Joseph Brown Papers, the diaries of Charles Henderson, Josephus Conn Guild, and the Henry Hollingsworth and John Samuel Claybrooke Papers, all of which contain material concerning Florida. The book sells for $5.00, and it may be ordered from the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Royal South Carolina, 1719-1763 by B. D. Bargar is South Carolina Tricentennial Booklet Number 7. South Carolina became a royal colony in 1719, holding this status until it adopted

the Declaration of Independence fifty-seven years later. Professor Bargar's monograph describes the internal organization of the colonial government and its relationship to the monarchy, South Carolina's early economic policies, the Church of England, and the colony's stratified social system. Published by the University of South Carolina Press for the Tricentennial Commission, the monograph sells for $1.95.

Two new volumes of the Southern Literary Series, published by the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill, are now available. *The Valley of Shenandoah,* or *Memoirs of the Graysons* by George Tucker carries an introduction by Donald R. Noble, Jr. Tucker was born in Bermuda, but lived most of his life in Virginia, where he married a niece of President Washington. His three terms in congress were served without distinction, and he was unable to make a living either in the practice of law or in his real estate investments. His reputation rests upon his literary activities. *The Valley of* Shenandoah sells for $4.25. William Alexander Caruthers was the author of *The Knights of the Golden Horse-shoe: A Traditionary Tale of the Cocked Hat Gentry in the Old Dominion.* This new edition carries an introduction by Curtis Carroll David, and it sells for $2.95.

Savannah Revisited: A Pictorial History was published by the University of Georgia Press, Athens, for the Ships of the Sea Museum of Savannah. It depicts the history of Savannah from its establishment in 1733 until the beginnings of the twentieth century through a series of maps, drawings, photographs, and reproductions of paintings, lithographs, and engravings. The city's history is divided into six stages: colonial, capital (1733-1782), town plan (1733-1856), first prosperity (1796-1820), cotton kingdom (1835-1860), Civil War (1860-1865), and last prosperity (1865-1895). This handsomely illustrated book sells for $10.00.

King Cotton and His Retainers by Harold D. Woodman describes the financing and marketing of the cotton crop of the South in the period from 1800-1925. The book is published by the University Press of Kentucky, and sells for $9.75.

Ships and Seamen of the American Revolution by Jack Coggins is a beautifully illustrated book which examines vessels, crews, weapons, gear, naval tactics, and some of the major naval actions associated with the War for Independence. Of particular interest to Floridians is the chapter, "D'Estaing and Disappointment," the story of the 1778 effort to force the British out of Savannah. The West Indies campaign (1780-1783) also involved Florida coastal waters. This book, published by Stackpole Books, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, sells for $12.95.

A new paperback is *Life Under The "Peculiar Institution," Selections From the Slave Narrative Collection* by Norman R. Yetman. *The Slave Narrative Collection* was one of the major achievements of the WPA Federal Writers Project of the 1930s. Compiled in seventeen states, the collection consists of over 2,000 interviews with former slaves. They are verbatim testimonies concerning slave life and personal reflections of slaves of their bondage. The Florida narratives, some of which are included in this book, were undertaken by Dr. Carita Doggett Corse, state director of the Florida Writers Project. Under her direction on active black unit was set up in 1936 which included among others the noted novelist-anthropologist, Zora Neale Hurston. A substantial number of former slaves were interviewed, and some of these were used in the compilation of the *Florida Guide*. A projected volume entitled *The Negro in Florida* was supposed to include these narratives, but the project was never completed. In Florida, sixty-seven former slaves were interviewed. *Life Under The "Peculiar Institution"* is published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, and it sells for $3.95.

The Freedman's Bureau in Louisiana by Howard Ashley White is a comprehensive study of the agency's role and activities in Louisiana. As elsewhere in the South, the Louisiana bureau assumed guardianship of the freedmen, and instituted in their behalf programs of relief, medical aid, and education. Lack of funds, inadequate personnel, and corruption hampered operations, but in many areas the bureau achieved great success. Professor White relied heavily on bureau records in the National Archives in his research and writing. The Louisiana

collection alone comprises approximately 100 boxes of manuscripts and several hundred book records. Published by the Louisiana State University Press, this book sells for $7.50.

Dixie After the War by Myrta Lockett Avary is another in the DaCapo Press reprint series, *The American Scene.* Mrs. Avary, who grew up on a large Virginia plantation after the Civil War, describes her book as "an exposition of social conditions existing in the South, during the twelfth year succeeding the. fall of Richmond." It contains a number of Florida references. In addition to this book, Mrs. Avary is responsible for the discovery in 1905 of the famed Civil War journal A *Diary from Dixie* by Mrs. James Chestnut. *Dixie After the War* was originally published in 1906. It is being distributed by Plenum Publishing Corporation, New York, and the price is $15.00.

Huey Long is one of the volumes in the Great Lives Observed Series published by Prentice-Hall, New Jersey. Edited by Hugh Davis Graham, it sell for $4.95; paperback, $1.95. It includes a biographical introduction, a chronology of Long's life, and a series of autobiographical and contemporary accounts. The last selection examines Huey Long's position in southern and American history.

Authony Yonge of Victoria, British Columbia, has published on behalf of his late fater, Edward Yonge, a history of the Yonge family entitled *The Yonges of Caynton, Edgmond, Shropshire.* Francis Yonge was the first of the family to reside in America, arriving around 1716. A full chapter is devoted to the history of the Florida Yonges who have contributed much to the educational and cultural development of this state. Privately printed, the book is not available for sale. Copies, however, have been deposited in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, and the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida Library, Tampa.

Literary North Carolina by Richard Walser is a brief but excellent study of the literary figures and literature of North Carolina, beginning with those who first recorded their impressions in the sixteenth century exploration period. North Caro-

lina's literary history begins in 1524, with the Verrazano letter to Francis I of France describing the coast where his sailors had gone ashore. An accurate index makes *Literary North Carolina* a very useful volume. It may be ordered from the State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina. The price is $3.00 for the hardback and $1.50 for the paperback edition.

The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787 by Gordon S. Wood, Bancroft prize winner, has been published in paperback by the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill. Professor Wood's book was reviewed by Paul Smith for the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (July 1969). The paperback sells for $3.45.

Captain John Smith's History of Virginia is published by Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, in its new American History Landmarks series. Edited by David Freeman Hawke, the series will present a variety of American history classics, each reduced to approximately 200 pages. John Smith began writing his *General History* in 1624, just about the time that the Virginia Company was folding and the Crown was in the process of revoking its charter. He was able thus to write without restraint, and he obviously shaped his *History* to glorify himself. Smith wrote with the hope that his past triumphs would convince the Crown to return him to Virginia, even though he must have known how slight were his chances. This book sells for $1.95.

Background for *Radical Reconstruction* edited by Henry L. Trefousse is selected testimony taken from the hearings of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction set up by Congress in December 1865. Trefousse's volume divides the testimony into five general topics: conditions of blacks in the South, conditions of whites in the South, effects of Johnson's plan of Reconstruction, problems of Negro suffrage, and need for Congressional interference. Testimony relating to the Memphis and New Orleans riots is also included. Published by Little-Brown & Company, Boston, the books sells for $3.50.

American Indian Policy in the Formative Years by Francis Paul Prucha is now available in a paperback edition published by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. It examines the Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, (1790-1843), and sells for $1.95. The University of Nebraska Press has also republished Lawrie Tatum's *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy* of *President Ulysses S. Grant.* Tatum, a Quaker, was one of the many religious men named as Indian agents during the early years of the first Grant administration. The goal of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians was a major aspect of American Indian policy during this period, and cooperation between the government and church groups was encouraged. Bishop Henry E. Whipple of the Episocpal Church actively lobbied during the 1860s to reform the Indian system, but the Quakers were even more active. Grant allowed them to nominate superintendents and agents, and many of their own group, like Tatum, became Indian Bureau field officers. A Kiowa-Commanche agent, he operated from Fort Sill, Indian Territory. In accordance with his religious beliefs, he attempted to use peaceful methods to convince the tribes to terminate their raids and to settle down on the reservation. He believed that honesty, kindness, and generosity would provide a significant contribution toward the solution of the Indian problem. However, he was not very successful, and all too often Tatum found that he had no control over the Indians. In 1899 he published his *Our Red Brothers, an account* of his own experiences and the work of his Quaker colleagues. The paperback reprint sells for $1.95.

Town Planning *in Frontier* America by John W. Reps is a Princeton University Press paperback. A longer and more complete study of city planning in the United States was published by Professor Reps in 1965. In this abridged work he has limited his scope to an examination of city planning prepared before the middle of the nineteenth century. He begins with the settlement of St. Augustine in 1565. One of the earliest views of the city, at the time of Francis Drake's attack in 1586, depicts the town as a little grid settlement of eleven blocks located some distance from the fort which guarded the entrance to the harbor. Later plans dating from the eighteenth century show St. Augustine to be a much larger settlement. The street

pattern is an irregular gridiron centered on the plaza, and the town is surrounded by a stockade or wall. It was a typical Spanish colonial town: two-story houses, topped by flat roofs; balconies at the upper levels over entrance porticos; and houses fronting directly on the streets, leaving generous areas to the rear for gardens and patios. The establishment of the ill-fated Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River and Pensacola are also discussed briefly in this volume. It sells for $3.95.

HISTORY NEWS

American Association for State and *Local History Awards*

At its annual meeting in Kansas City, Missouri, September 1970, the American Association for State and Local History recognized a number of state and local historical projects, agencies, and publications in the United States and Canada which showed superior achievement and quality. It was unanimously voted to give an *Award of Merit* to Mrs. Mary MacRae of Homosassa for her more than fifty years of exemplary action in the causes of Homosassa, Citrus County, and Florida history. Mrs. MacRae, a former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, was one of only eight individuals who received this national recognition. A *Certificate of Commendation* was given to Joyce E. Harman for her work, *Trade* and *Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763,* published by the St. Augustine Historical Society in 1969. The Society was also recognized for its role in making Miss Harman's work available. *The* St. *Petersburg Times,* the only newspaper recognized this year for its work in interpreting state and local history, was recognized for the historical articles appearing in *The Floridian,* its weekly news magazine.

Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference

The second annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference was held in Pensacola on December 4-5, 1970. The theme for this year's conference was "Spain and Her Rivals." Reading papers were John J. TePaske (Duke University), J. Preston Moore (Louisiana State University), Alfred B. Thomas (University of Alabama and the University of West Florida), Hale Smith (Florida State University), and Sam Wilson, Jr. (New Orleans and Tulane University). Round table participants included William Coker (University of West Florida), John Mahon (University of Florida), Jack Gregory (University of West Florida), J. Leitch Wright (Florida State University), Ted Carageorge (Pensacola Junior College), John Ramsey (University of Alabama), Donald E. Worcester (Texas Christian University), Samuel Proctor (University of Florida), Earle Newton (Historic

Pensacola Preservation Board), James Schaeffer (Historic Pensacola Preservation Board), Duncan Stewart (University of West Florida), Lucius Ellsworth (University of West Florida), Charles Branch (Escarosa Humanities Center), John Rees (Pensacola Junior College), Charles Summersell (University of Alabama), Donald Brogaw (University of West Florida), and Jean Hiles (Brentwood Middle School). The first annual Gulf Coast Conference was held in December 1969, and its proceedings, *In Search of Gulf Coast Colonial History*, have been published and are available for sale. Dr. Ernest F. Dibble of the University of West Florida and Earle F. Newton of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board served as chairmen of the 1970 Conference. The sessions were held at the University of West Florida, the Pensacola Junior College, and the Escarosa Humanities Center.

"Spain and Her Rivals," the conference theme, was the title of a special exhibit at the Hispanic Museum in the Historic District. It was prepared by Thomas G. Baker, chief curator for the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board.

National Register of Historic Places

The National Park Service,: United States Department of Interior, has added the following eleven Florida sites to the National Register of Historic Places:

Pensacola Historic District — a thirty-six block area stretching from Plaza Ferdinand (already on the National Register) past Seville Square to Ninth Avenue on the east, and from the waterfront to St. Michael's Cemetery on the north. The district is being preserved and restored according to a master plan under the supervision of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board.

Olustee Battlefield, (US 90, two miles east of Olustee, Columbia County) major engagement of the Civil War in Florida.

Everglades and Seminole Indian Reservations (US 41, seventeen miles south of Naples, Collier County) — 6,423 acre tract of semi-tropical wilderness and the home of many Florida. Indians.

Gamble Mansion (US 301, two and three-quarter miles east of Palmetto, Manatee County) — antebellum home that served as a refuge for Judah P. Benjamin, Confererate cabinet officer, after the Civil War.

Madeira Bickle Mound (US 19, Terra Ceia Island, Manatee County) -site of extensive Indian habitation and the first archaelogical location in Florida to become a state historic memorial. It is named for Mrs. Karl A. Bickle who, together with her husband, donated the property to the state.

Mound Key (Estero Bay, Lee County) — part of Koreshan State Park and allegedly the site of the Calusa Indian town visited by Pedro Menéndez in 1565.

McLarty State Museum (A1A, south of Sebastian Inlet, Indian River County)-site of the salvage camp for the recovery of the treature from the Spanish Plate wrecks of 1715. It is named for Robert P. McLarty who deeded the site to the state.

Fort Pickens State Park (US 98, 21A, west of Pensacola Beach, Escambia County)-the brick nineteenth-century fort was actively involved in the Civil War.

Yulee Sugar Mill Ruins (Fla. 480, Old Homosassa, Citrus County) — once part of the plantation belonging to David Levy Yulee, Florida's first United States senator. Much of the machinery is still intact, although the place was burned by a Federal landing party during the Civil War.

Spanish Coquina Quarries (A1A, St. Augustine Beach, St. Johns County) -contains the original coquina shell rock veins from which the Spaniards quarried the material used in constructing many of St. Augustine's oldest buildings.

New Smyrna Sugar Mill Remains (US 1, Fla. 90, New Smyrna Beach, Volusia County) -constructed around 1831, it is typical of the mills that were part of the plantation economy of Territorial Florida.

Florida Junior Historian

The Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management has begun publishing the *Florida Junior Historian* magazine. The first issue contains a collection of essays on Florida history written by fourth and fifth grade school children from the Tallahassee area. Copies are available from the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, the Capital, Tallahassee 32304.

Speakers Bureau

Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., former president of the Florida Historical Society, has compiled a list of persons who are willing to speak to interested groups on Florida history subjects. It includes the following: Margaret L. Chapman (University of South Florida), Merlin G. Cox (University of Florida), Glenn H. Dill (New Port Richey), Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (University of Florida), John R. Dunkle (University of Florida), Hampton Dunn (Tampa), Charles H. Fairbanks (University of Florida), Walter P. Fuller (St. Petersburg), Father Michael V. Gannon (University of Florida), William M. Goza (Clearwater), Walter R. Hellier (Ft. Pierce), Baynard Kendrick (Leesburg), Judge James R. Knott (West Palm Beach), Frank Laumer (Dade City), John K. Mahon (University of Florida), Leedell W. Neyland (Florida A & M University), Ralph L. Peek (University of Florida), Vernon Peeples (Punta Gorda), Samuel Proctor (University of Florida), F. Blair Reeves (University of Florida), William Warren Rogers (Florida State University), Jerrell H. Shofner (Florida State University), Alice Strickland (Ormond Beach), Claude C. Sturgill (University of Florida), Charlton W. Tebeau (University of Miami), John Ware (Tampa), Warren H. Wilkinson (Jacksonville Beach), and Judge Ben C. Willis (Tallahassee).

Arrangements should be made directly with the speaker. Dr. Doherty has prepared a list showing qualifications, topics, and the conditions set by the speakers for accepting an invitation. This list of speakers has ben sent to all of the historical societies and commissions in Florida, but additional copies are available from Dr. Doherty, Department of Social Sciences, Little Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville 32601, and from

the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa 33620.

Announcements and Activities

The Florida Anthropological Society will hold its annual meeting March 20, 1971, *at* the Science Center, St. Petersburg. Dr. James W. Covington, University of Tampa, is president of the Society and program chairman. Persons interested in presenting papers on historical or anthropological topics are asked to communicate with Dr. Covington.

The Florida Academy of Sciences will hold its annual meeting March 2527, at the Florida Institute of Technology in Melbourne. Anyone interested in presenting a paper or acting as a discussant in the fields of economics, political science, history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography, or philosophy is asked to write Professor Jack E. Vincent, Political Science Department, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, 33432.

The 1971 Conference of the Florida College Teachers of History will meet on the campus of Stetson University, DeLand, on April 2-3, 1971. Dr. Gerald E. Critoph of Stetson is vice-president of the association and program chairman. For information on the program and participants, communications should be directed to Dr. Critoph, History Department, Stetson University.

Local Historical Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Society: Colonel Harold B. Bachman, director emeritus of the University of Florida band, was the speaker at the opening fall meeting of the Society in September. His topic was "The Role of Band Music in American Culture." Dr. Ronald J. Cutler, professor of English, University of Florida, spoke at the October meeting on "The Impact of Literature on Florida Culture and Development." Professor Roy C. Craven, Jr., of the University of Florida's art department, discussed the impact of art on Florida history at the November meeting. The Society isues a regular news letter.

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board: Mr. and Mrs. Walter

S. Crawbuck of Ponte Vedra were cited recently in a resolution by the Commission for their work in restoring the Rodriquez-Avera-Sanchez House which was first opened to the public in 1957. The Board is sponsoring an exhibit of pre-Columbian aboriginal artifacts dating from about 600 B.C. to 1500 A.D. and representing archaelogical sites and cultures from Mexico, Central, and South American in the Pan-American Center. The exhibition represents a cross-section of the principal Indian cultures and their art as seen by the first Spaniards in the New World. The exhibits include textiles, jewelry, and various art objects.

Jacksonville Historical Society: Dr. Gordon E. Bigelow, University of Florida, was the speaker at the November meeting of the Society. His subject was "The Literary Career of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings," taken from his published biography of Mrs. Rawlings. The Society dedicated a historical marker at the site of Mission San Juan del Puerto on Fort George Island at a ceremony in October. General Stoyt Ross is chairman of the committee which has placed a number of markers throughout the area. The Carl S. Swisher Library, Jacksonville University, has set aside a special room for the Society's collection of manuscripts, books, maps, and memoribilia of Jacksonville, Duval County, and Florida. Audrey Broward, Jacksonville University reference librarian, is in charge of the collection. It is available for use by scholars and researchers. John B. Turner, Jr. is president of the Society. Other officers include Stoyt 0. Ross and John Tillman, vice-presidents; William M. Bliss, treasurer; Mrs. Carl P. Sasnett and Mrs. Everett McCarthy, secretaries; Audrey Broward, archivist; and Dena Snodgrass, historian. Directors are Robert C. Hall, Malachi Houghton, Jr., Frank L. Harris, Mrs. Robert H. Paul, Jr., C. Harvey Peacock, John J. Powell, George W. Semmes, John N. Sewell, and Mrs. Herbert E. Williams.

Key West Art and *Historical Society:* The Society held a reception on November 24, 1970, at East Martello Tower marking the opening of its annual juried art exhibition.

Historical Society of Fort *Lauderdale:* The October 1970 number of "New River News," the Society's publication, lists recent

donations to the Society's history collection. There is also an article on the city attorneys of Fort Lauderdale dating back to March 1911, when the community was first incorporated. Mrs. William G. Hardy is president of the Society, George W. English and Mrs. Frank Stranahan are vice-presidents, and Mrs. H. A. Beck is secretary. The board of trustees include August Burghard, N. V. Cheaney, R. M. Gardner, James E. Hunt, Sr., and C. P. Weidling, Jr.

Orange County Historical Commission: Historical markers have been placed at the Fort McNeil and Council Oak sites, and special ceremonies dedicating the markers were held in the fall. The Society's historical museum has moved its collections from the courthouse annex to the second floor of the Christ Building, northwest corner of Central Boulevard and Court Street. Showcases are being refurbished, and the museum is being reopened to the public.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: Vernon E. Peeples of Punta Gorda, past president of the Peace River Valley Historical Society, was the speaker at the September meeting held at Pioneer Park, Zolfo Springs. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., of the University of Florida and former president of the Florida Historical Society, was the speaker at the October meeting. His subject was Andrew Jackson's activities in Florida. The November meeting was devoted to consideration of the Society's sponsorship of the Florida Historical Society meeting on May 7-8 in Punta Gorda. The local arrangements committee includes Vernon E. Peeples (chairman), William M. Goza, William H. Bevis, and Colonel Reed B. Harding.

The Pioneer Museum at Zolfo Springs, operated jointly by the Society and the Hardee Pioneer Park Board, displays pictures of the recipients of the Florida History Award, given annually by the Society to persons who have made important contributions to the understanding and interpretation of Florida history. These include Albert DeVane, Father Jerome of St. Leo Abbey, Dr. Samuel Proctor, Colonel Reed B. Harding, and Dr. James Covington. A collection of reprints and original pictures of pioneer and Seminole days in Florida is being assembled for inclusion in the expanding museum. Park DeVane is in

charge of the Society's plan to create a historical map of the Peace River Valley.

Peninsula Archaeological Society, St. Petersburg **Chapter:** Alfred ing launched a major membership drive and is soliciting donations. Many generous contributions from individuals and Pensacola business firms and clubs have been received. As a result the historical museum in Christ Church is now open three days a week. Woody Skinner spoke at the November meeting on

"The Story of Pensacola Bay." He used colored slides and a film to illustrate his talk. The film was made for the Escarosa Humanities Center to be used in schools in Escambia and Santa Rosa counties.

Peninsula Archealogical Society, St. Petersburg **Chapter:** Alfred H. Robson of Anna Maria spoke on Florida's maritime history at the opening fall meeting of the Society, held in the Humanities Building, Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg. Mr. Robson illustrated his talk with ship models, photos, drawings, and maps. Richard Blitz is president of the Society.

Pinellas County Historical Commission: Dr. J. C. Dickinson, director of the Florida State Museum at Gainesville, was the speaker at a meeting in Clearwater, November 18, sponsored by the Commission and other Pinellas County historical groups. Dr. Dickinson described the new museum and the Florida history exhibits which it will house. The Commission has secured a number of new acquisitions, including pioneer tools and equipment found in a century-old barn belonging to William F. Nigels, a settler of the 1870s. William M. Goza, former president of the Florida Historical Society and member of the Pinellas County Historical Commission, is vice-chairman of the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board of Trustees which was created by the 1970 Florida legislature.

Safety *Harbor Area Historical Society:* William M. Goza, former president of the Florida Historical Society, has been named Historian of the Year by the Safety Harbor Area Historical Society. He was honored for his help, work, and encouragement to the Society, and because of his many contributions to all areas of local and state history. Mr. Goza received a plaque from

the Society. Don Ball of the Pinellas County Boy Scout Council spoke at the September 1970 meeting on "American Military Edged Weapons: Past and Present." Robert Williams, director of the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management was the speaker at the October meeting. He described' the work of his division and showed slides of archaeological investigation being carried on by members of his staff. The Society held a dig on September 5 on the Spa property, just north of Barth's Baths, and a number of bottles and worked flint and pottery sherds were unearthed. The Society held its annual picnic on Sunday, November 29, in Philippe Park.

St. Lucie County Historical Society: Recent speakers at monthly supper meetings of the Society have been Mrs. Addie Emerson, director of the South Beach Museum, Sam Purdue, Mrs. Ada Tyre, and Hood Ditman. The Society's historical museum on Seaway Drive, South Beach, is displaying a scale model of Fort Pierce, the fortification constructed during the Second Seminole War, and artifacts excavated from the fort site.

St. Petersburg Historical Society: In May 1970, the Society received as a gift the antebellum house of Captain John T. Lowe which was originally constructed at Anono on Boca Ciega Bay between Indian Rocks and Belleaire. The house has been moved to a site next to the Haas Museum, 3511 Second Avenue, and it is being refurbished and restored. It will be known as the Lowe-Condricks House, and it will be operated as a house-museum.

Southwest Florida Historical Society: Lloyd Hendry was the speaker at the October meeting in the Commissioner's Room, Lee County Courthouse, Fort Myers. He spoke on his ancestor, Francis Asbury Hendry. Betty Hawkins, author of of "Twice Upon A Time," a weekly column dealing with Lee County pioneer families, appearing in the *Fort Myers News-Press,* was the speaker at the November meeting. She described her research and the writing of her column. The Society is supporting the effort to preserve the Boca Grande Lighthouse. The Society's office is at 2312 First Street, and it is open on Tuesday afternoons..

Notes

The Pennsylvania State University, with the endorsement of the National Historical Publications Commission, has undertaken a project to locate and record correspondence and other manuscript writings of former President Martin Van Bureau. The final objective is the publishing of a letterpress edition of the Van Buren Papers. A national search for Van Buren material is presently underway, and anyone who owns or who has knowledge of where pertinent data is located is asked to write to Dr. Walter L. Ferree, editor, the Papers of Martin Van Buren, Pennsylvania State University, Department of History, Oogontz Campus, 1600 Woodland Road, Abington, Pennsylvania 19001.

OBITUARY

Charles Loch Mowat

Charles Loch Mowat, professor of history at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, died at his home in Llanfairfechan on June 23, 1970. The eldest son of another distinguished historian, R. B. Mowat, he was born on October 4, 1911, at Oxford, where his father was Fellow of Corpus Christi, and he was educated at Marlborough and St. John's. Professor Mowat taught for many years in the United States, holding posts successively at the universities of Minnesota (1934-1936), California at Los Angeles (1936-1950), and Chicago (1950-1958). In 1956 he became editor of the *Journal of Modern History*. Two years later he returned to Wales and was appointed to the chair of history at Bangor.

His earliest work was *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784*, published in 1943. It was republished in 1964 by the University of Florida Press in its Floridian Facsimile a Reprint Series, with an editorial preface by Dr. Rembert W. Patrick. In 1961 Professor Mowat published a short history of the Charity Organization Society, of which his grandfather, Sir Charles Stewart Loch, had been the secretary, and in 1964, *The Golden Valley Railway*, a study of the impact of railway enterprise on a remote rural community in the Welsh border country. He was best known, however, as the author of *Britain between the Wars, 1918-1940* (1955). His eminence in his field was acknowledged by the invitation to edit the second edition of volume XII of the *New Cambridge Modern History* (1968). He was also the author of several articles dealing with British East Florida, and his book reviews appeared frequently in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Professor Mowat's many friends both in America and Britain will feel his death as a deep personal loss.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . . . . .

February 25-27	Library History Seminar	Florida State University, Tallahassee
March 20	Florida Anthropological Society	Science Center, St. Petersburg
March 24-27	Florida Academy of Sciences	Florida Instiute of Technology, Melbourne
March 26-28	Fifth Annual Conference of Southern Historical Societies	Mobile
April 2-3	Florida College Teachers of History	Stetson University, DeLand
April 2-3	South Atlantic States Archives and Records Conference	Tallahassee
April 14-17	Organization of American Historians	New Orleans
May 7-8	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY — 69TH ANNUAL MEETING	Punta Gorda

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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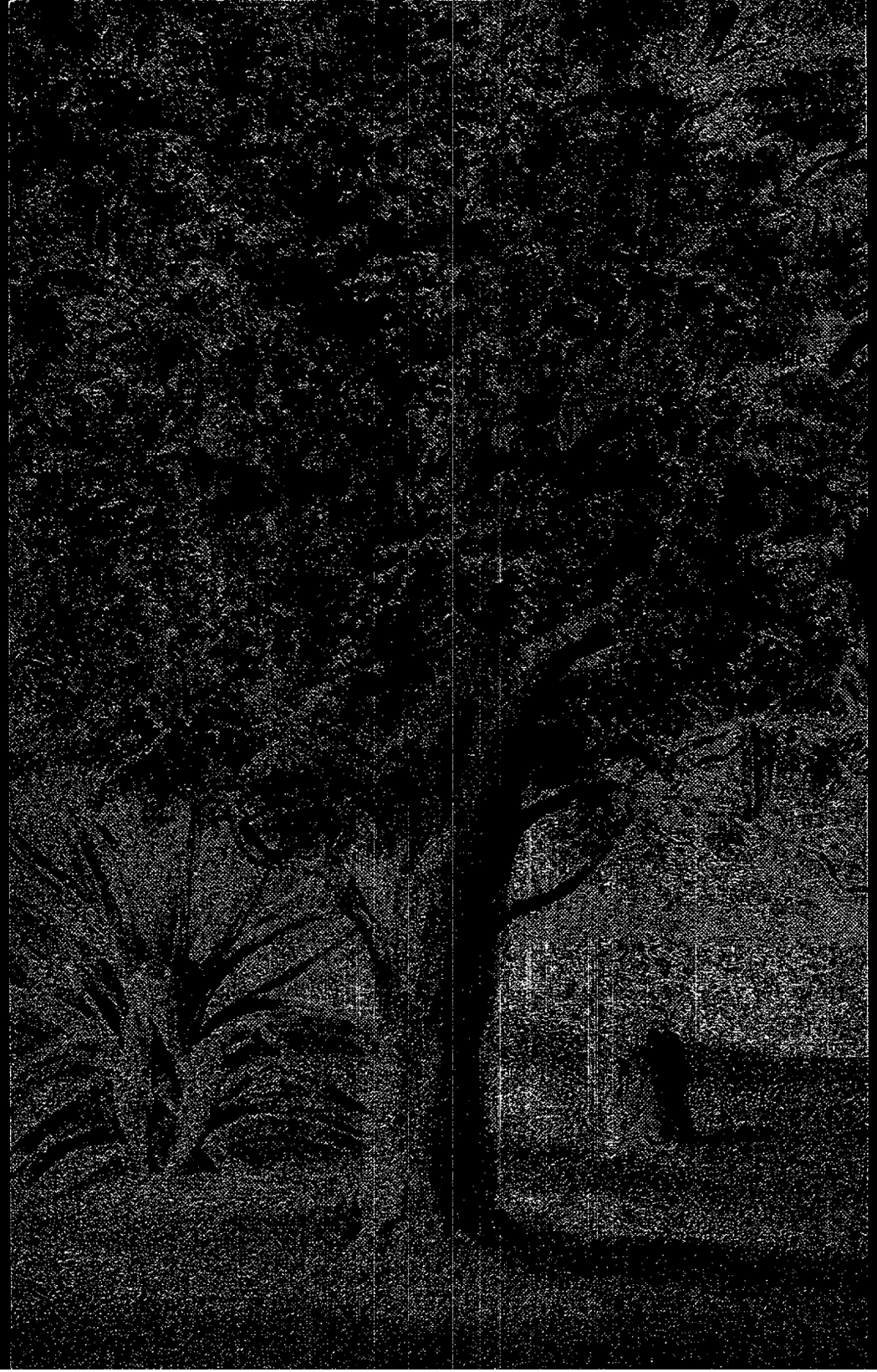
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