

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

October 1973

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COVER

Lincoln Road was planned by Carl Fisher, one of the major developers of Miami Beach, to be the Fifth Avenue of the South, an avenue of luxury shops catering to the needs and desires of the wealthy. It was named for Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Fisher's great American history hero. At the foot of Lincoln Road facing the ocean stood "The Shadows," the Fisher's palatial home, and the beachfront mansion of John Hanan, the Boston shoe manufacturer.

This view of Lincoln Road, taken some time during the 1930s, is from a postcard in the collection of William M. Goza, Madison, Florida.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LII, Number 2

October 1973

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Table of Contents

MARTIN TABERT, MARTYR OF AN ERA	
<i>N. Gordon Carper</i>	115
ROAD FROM RECEIVERSHIP: CLAUDE PEPPER, THE DUPONT TRUST, AND THE FLORIDA EAST COAST RAILWAY	
<i>Alexander R. Stoesen</i>	132
POSTAL OPERATIONS IN TERRITORIAL FLORIDA, 1821-1845	
<i>Richard J. Stanaback</i>	157
CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC POWER STRUCTURE IN DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA, DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION	
<i>C. A. Haulman</i>	175
BOOK REVIEWS	185
BOOK NOTES	212
HISTORY NEWS	218
SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING	228

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BOOK REVIEWS

- RIVER OF THE GOLDEN IBIS, by Gloria Jahoda
reviewed by Frank G. Slaughter
- TALES OF OLD BREVARD, by Georgiana Kjerulff
reviewed by Ernest Lyons
- HUNTED LIKE A WOLF: THE STORY OF THE SEMINOLE WAR, by Milton Meltzer
reviewed by James W. Covington
- FLORIDA PROMOTERS: THE MEN WHO MADE IT BIG, by Charles E. Harner
reviewed by Thomas S. Graham
- SUGAR AND SLAVES: THE RISE OF THE PLANTER CLASS IN THE ENGLISH WEST INDIES, 1624-1713, by Richard S. Dunn
reviewed by Robert R. Rea
- THE PAPERS OF HENRY LAURENS, VOLUME THREE: JAN. 1, 1759-AUG. 31, 1763, edited by Philip M. Hamer and George C. Rogers, Jr.
reviewed by Richard Walsh
- THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF CHARLESTON, 1780-82, by George Smith McCowen, Jr.
reviewed by J. Leitch Wright, Jr.
- GEORGE WASHINGTON: ANGUISH AND FAREWELL (1793-1799), VOL. IV, by James Thomas Flexner
reviewed by Gerard W. Gawalt
- CHAMPION OF SOUTHERN FEDERALISM, ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER OF SOUTH CAROLINA, by Joseph W. Cox
reviewed by Walker Blanton
- NAPOLEON'S SOLDIERS IN AMERICA, by Simone de la Souchère Deléry
reviewed by Jack D. L. Holmes
- THE WAR OF 1812, by John K. Mahon
reviewed by Richard A. Preston
- THE DIARY OF EDMUND RUFFIN, VOLUME I, TOWARD INDEPENDENCE: OCTOBER, 1856-APRIL, 1861, edited by William K. Scarbrough
reviewed by John Hebron Moore
- THE GRAY AND THE BLACK: THE CONFEDERATE DEBATE ON EMANCIPATION, by Robert F. Durden
reviewed by Peter D. Klingman
- AN ARMY FOR EMPIRE: THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, by Graham A. Cosmos
reviewed by John K. Mahon
- THE SHADOW OF SLAVERY: PEONAGE IN THE SOUTH, 1901-1969, by Pete Daniel
reviewed by Hugh G. Bailey
- ANOTHER LOOK AT THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOUTH, by George E. Mowry
reviewed by Augustus M. Burns
- MARGINALITY AND IDENTITY: A COLORED CREOLE FAMILY THROUGH TEN GENERATIONS, by Sister Frances Jerome Woods
reviewed by Donald H. Bragaw
- CHURCHES IN CULTURAL CAPTIVITY: A HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF SOUTHERN BAPTISTS, by John Lee Eighthy
reviewed by Wayne Flynt
- PETER PITCHLYNN: CHIEF OF THE CHOCTAWS, by W. David Baird
reviewed by W. McKee Evans

MARTIN TABERT, MARTYR OF AN ERA

by N. GORDON CARPER*

MA RTIN TABERT, in his desire to "see the world," unfortunately met an untimely death in Florida. The national publicity given the circumstances surrounding his death provided the catalyst Floridians needed to abolish the cruel and corrupt convict-lease system, a peculiarly southern institution given impetus during the Civil War-Reconstruction era.

During Reconstruction, Florida's officials operated a dual penal system. A number of convicts were housed in the state penitentiary established in 1868, while others were leased to railroad, turpentine, and cotton interests.¹ Although the Republicans leased convicts during Reconstruction the primary motive governing prison development was criminal reformation. The financial, social, and political chaos resulting from the Civil War and Reconstruction, however, negated most attempts to reform the criminal and gave impetus to the lease system.²

The increase in the criminal population resulting from freeing the slaves, the corrupt prison system under the Republicans, the apathy and ignorance of the public, but, perhaps most important, the unwillingness to spend public funds on criminal reformation combined to encourage the Bourbon Democrats to enact Florida's first convict-leasing statute in 1877. Florida was following the lead of other southern states by placing the responsibility for convict care in the hands of private interests.³

From the inauguration of the system in 1877, until the end of Governor William Sherman Jennings's administration in 1905, one theme dominated Florida's penal development: bleed every

* Mr. Carper is Dana professor of history and chairman of the social science department, Berry College, Mount Berry, Georgia.

1. N. Gordon Carper, "The Convict-Lease System in Florida, 1866-1923" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1964), 8-37.
2. Fletcher Melvin Green, ed., *Essays in Southern History* (Chapel Hill, 1949), 115.
3. *Laws of Florida*, 1877, 86. Whereas the statutes passed during Reconstruction provided that the state should retain control over the care and custody of the convicts, by the 1877 statute the state relinquished all convict control to the lessee.

dollar possible out of the lessees of state and county convicts.⁴ If this policy did not lend itself to the concepts of modern penology, in general, the public did not seem dissatisfied. Occasional protests were voiced, but they amounted to little more than lonely cries in the wilderness. The cause of humanity had to wait until public opinion became more indignant. After 1905 public opinion, molded by the press, urged the authorities to revoke convict leasing, and in 1919 it was abolished.⁵

While the reformers worked to eliminate the state system, county convicts suffered abuses which perhaps were more barbarous than those suffered by state prisoners. Yet the public seemed ignorant of these brutalities; no incident had occurred which stimulated action. Then in 1922, a county convict died as the result of a severe beating. As the circumstances relating to the death of Martin Tabert became known, citizens throughout the nation demanded that Florida abolish corporal punishment and county convict-leasing.

In the fall of 1921, twenty-two year old Martin Tabert of Munich, North Dakota, decided to see the world.⁶ At an early age he had borne the responsibilities of an adult on a 560-acre farm. His brothers and sisters had left home, and Martin's help was needed. With the end of World War I one brother returned to the farm, and Martin decided that he could take a trip. He had money, but planned to work part time and see the sights as he moved from place to place.

All went well until he reached Florida. Jobs were not abundant, and he soon ran out of money. Rather than return home or write his family for help, Martin decided to continue south. In so doing he made the mistake of riding on a train in Florida without a ticket.⁷

On December 15, 1921, a Leon County deputy sheriff arrested Tabert on the charge of "stealing a ride on a railroad train."⁸

4. Carper, "Convict-Lease System in Florida," 44-186.

5. *Ibid.*, 218-303; *Laws of Florida*, 1919, 65; *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture of the State of Florida, 1919-1920*, 87; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, May 21, 1919.

6. "Out to See the World," prepared by Martin Tabert Committee, March 1923, Samuel D. McCoy Papers, Florida State Library, Tallahassee. After Tabert's death, the Martin Tabert Committee was formed to collect the pertinent facts in the case.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, April 10, 1923.

He was taken before Leon County Judge B. F. Willis, who found him guilty of vagrancy and fined him \$25.00. Tabert could not pay his fine so Judge Willis decreed that he would serve ninety days in the county jail. Leon County Sheriff J. R. Jones immediately took Tabert into custody.

By order of the Leon Board of County Commissioners, all county convicts were leased to the Putnam Lumber Company at \$20.00 each per month, and the sheriff turned Tabert over to the company.⁹ In the meantime Tabert sent a telegram to his brother: "In trouble and need fifty dollars to pay fine for vagrancy. Please wire money in care of sheriff."¹⁰

Upon receipt of the telegram, John Tabert and his parents sent Martin a letter in care of the sheriff, which contained a draft on the First National Bank of Munich for \$7500.¹¹ Sheriff Jones received the letter on December 26, 1921, and returned the correspondence, unopened, to Mrs. Ben Tabert of Munich, North Dakota. The face of the envelope was stamped: "Returned to writer unclaimed from Tallahassee, Florida . . . by request of sheriff, Party Gone."¹² When Jones returned the letter, he did not tell the family what had happened. The Taberts logically assumed that Martin had found some method of securing his release and had left Tallahassee. Not knowing what else to do, they waited. Soon, however, they received a letter from the Putnam Lumber Company advising them that Martin had been sentenced to serve three months in the county prison system and had been sent to the Putnam Lumber Company's convict camp. The letter indicated that Tabert had developed a fever along with other complications and had died. Unable to locate any of Martin's family, the company had carried out all burial arrangements. Now the company officials were extending their sympathy to the family.¹³

When they received the letter, the Taberts suspected there was something irregular about their son's death, and asked the

9. Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of Leon County, August 15, 1921, 206-07, Leon Courthouse, Tallahassee.

10. Telegram, Martin Tabert to John Tabert, n. d., McCoy Papers: "A Victim of Convict Slavery," *Literary Digest*, LXXVII (April 21, 1923), 40.

11. "Out to See the World," McCoy Papers; Mr. and Mrs. Ben Tabert to Martin Tabert, December 21, 1921, *ibid*.

12. Envelope addressed to Martin Tabert, in care of the Leon County sheriff, December 21, 1921, *ibid*.

13. Putnam Lumber Company to E. D. Tabert, February 2, 1922, *ibid*.

family attorney, Norris Nelson, to make some inquiries. Nelson wrote Sheriff Jones and the Putnam Lumber Company asking for details.¹⁴ The company informed Nelson that it leased all of Leon County's able-bodied male convicts and was responsible for their care and welfare. A state and county supervisor inspected the camp about once a month. According to the company's statement the camp physician had diagnosed Tabert's illness as malaria fever. Tabert apparently would not take his medicine regularly, and he contracted pneumonia. The letter concluded: "We do not understand why the sheriff of Leon County should have told the people he had gone and did not accept the money for his release."¹⁵

It would seem that the company was trying to place responsibility on the sheriff, but Jones informed Nelson that if there was any foul play it was the company's fault. Jones pointed out that Tabert was physically healthy when he was turned over to company officials. He also admitted: "There was some money wired to him here after he was gone, but I could not get it, as it was sent in his name, I therefore returned it."¹⁶

The Tabert family now knew how Martin had fallen into the hands of the lumber company, and at first they believed the story that they had been told. Later developments revealed that the sheriff and company officials had attempted to hide the true facts surrounding the death. In July 1922, ex-convict Glen Thompson wrote a letter to the Munich, North Dakota, postmaster inquiring whether Tabert's parents knew or cared to know the particulars of their son's death.¹⁷ Thompson had been an eyewitness to the tragedy. The postmaster forwarded the letter to the Taberts who "for the first time, . . . began to realize that they were the victims of a monstrous deception in regard to the death of Martin."¹⁸

The Taberts wrote Thompson a letter asking for more information. He and others then furnished information which convinced them that Martin's death had not come about as de-

14. Norris Nelson to J. R. Jones, February 9, 1922; Nelson to Putnam Lumber Company, February 9, 1922, *ibid.*

15. Putnam Lumber Company to Nelson, February 15, 1922, *ibid.*

16. J. R. Jones to Nelson, February 17, 1922, *ibid.*

17. Glen Thompson to Postmaster, Munich, North Dakota, July 1922, *ibid.*

18. "Out to See the World," *ibid.*

scribed by Jones and the Putnam Lumber Company. Thompson stated that he had witnessed "many tortures" in the convict camp. Tabert's feet, he said, were swollen due to swamp water and the condition of his shoes, but when he had asked "whipping boss" Walter Higginbotham for a larger pair of shoes he was ignored. Late in January 1922 Martin complained about aching groins, and the doctor lanced one and left him some medicine. Shortly afterwards Tabert had received a severe beating for working too slowly. Thompson said that Higginbotham had given Martin thirty-five to fifty licks before some eighty-five convicts using a four-inch strap weighing seven and one-half pounds. When Tabert begged Higginbotham to stop, the "whipping boss" put his feet on Martin's neck to keep him from moving out of position as he whipped him." In spite of his physical condition, Tabert was forced to continue working, but shortly afterwards Thompson said that Martin's condition deteriorated, and he died "without a struggle." In spite of the evidence, the physician had attributed the death to "pernicious malaria." Thompson suggested that Tabert might have written asking for money but, "letters were read going in and coming out, and many of them never went, and especially those calling for money to pay out."¹⁹

Another former convict confirmed that Tabert had died a "horrible death," and said that he had been whipped unmercifully and "barbarously murdered."²⁰ Other letters stated that the men worked waist deep in swamp water. "It poisoned the men, their feet became sore and their bodies were often a mass of sores and nothing was done for them."²¹ Other letters noted that Tabert was too sick and weak to do the work demanded, and that he frequently had been knocked down and whipped. The other men were similarly treated. One former inmate wrote that he would carry to his grave "scars on his back caused by beatings from the brute Higginbotham, . . . the . . . whipping boss."²²

Ignorant of the convict-lease 'system, the Taberts found the letters difficult to believe. Yet the evidence seemed conclusive, and they decided to do something. They persuaded North Dakota

19. Thompson to Ben Tabert, August 25, 1922, *ibid.*

20. Unsigned letter to John Tabert, n. d., *ibid.*

21. "Out to See the World," *ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

State Attorney G. Grimson to go to Florida and investigate, and the material which he collected substantiated, in every detail, the letters received by the Taberts.²³

According to Grimson, Sheriff Jones "was little better than a slave-catcher." He had an arrangement with the company whereby he received \$20.00 for every male convict sent to the camp for ninety days. Grimson also claimed that the company was a Wisconsin-owned corporation worth \$800,000 which increased its profits "by the labor of unfortunate men, picked up and forced into their custody through trivial violations of the laws of the state of Florida."²⁴

A "Martin Tabert Committee" was formed which presented Grimson's findings to the North Dakota legislature, and then called for a resolution requesting Florida legislative action. North Dakota State Senator W. H. Porter introduced a concurrent resolution charging that Tabert had died as a result of physical abuse and torture inflicted upon him by T. W. Higginbotham, a Putnam Lumber Company employee. The legislature also accused Sheriff Jones and the company of conspiring to mislead Tabert's parents concerning their son's death.²⁵ The legislature charged that the sheriff and the lumber company were involved in a conspiracy to arrest and convict men for minor offenses. The company acquired a cheap labor supply, the sheriff received a cash compensation, and Martin Tabert had been the victim of their conspiracy.²⁶ The North Dakota legislature did not condemn Florida's state administration, but it did ask the Florida legislature to investigate the case and to punish the responsible parties.

Florida Governor Cary Hardee promptly replied to the resolution. Writing to Governor R. A. Nestus of North Dakota, he claimed that Florida's reputation had been injured by the resolution; and he insisted that no state treated its convicts more humanely than Florida. He listed the benefits accruing to Florida's criminals, but agreed that "if criminal responsibility attaches to anyone connected with the affair he will be promptly and vigorously prosecuted. I feel in view of these facts that the

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*: "A Victim of Convict Slavery," 40.

25. Concurrent Resolution on Tabert Affair passed by North Dakota Legislature, February 27, 1923, McCoy Papers; "A Victim of Convict Slavery," 46; *Florida House Journal*, 1923, 16.

26. *Florida House Journal*, 1923, 16-17.

passage of the resolution by the Senate served no useful purpose.²⁷

The Florida legislature immediately ordered a joint House-Senate committee to investigate Tabert's death and to conduct a thorough investigation of all convict camps where cruelty had been charged. The committee was supposed to determine also the merits of abolishing the entire lease system.²⁸

Sheriff Jones, in a communication to Fred H. Davis, chairman of the special legislative committee, denied his involvement in the affair and demanded a full investigation which he claimed, would exonerate him.²⁹ Meanwhile on April 10, 1923, several witnesses assembled at Madison, Florida, for the grand jury investigation. Higginbotham, the whipping boss, was charged with the murder of Martin Tabert which, through his attorney, he denied. He admitted flogging Tabert, but claimed the beating was not unduly harsh.³⁰ It was expected that other witnesses would testify that Higginbotham was a man without mercy who flogged both black and white convicts "just for the sport of it."³¹ Scores of witnesses including Tabert's fellow prisoners, former convict guards, and employees of the Putnam Lumber Company, were called to testify. Many newspapermen from throughout the South were present. Former convicts Glen Thompson and John Gardner were prepared to testify as eyewitnesses to Tabert's death. Thompson would reiterate the circumstances surrounding the death, while Gardner would describe "how the lashes were applied by dragging the strap through sugar and sand between each lick."³²

Two days after the grand jury began its investigation the legislative committee—Senators John P. Stokes and W. A. MacWilliams and House members John Clay Smith, Frederick Van Roy, and C. H. Kennerly—met and elected Stokes chairman. The committee believed that it had the power to investigate all alleged cases of convict brutality and to recommend appropriate action.³³

27. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1923, 62-64.

28. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, April 6, 1923; *New York World*, April 14, 1923; *Florida House Journal*, 1923, 97, 142.

29. *Florida House Journal*, 1923, 102; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, April 6, 1923.

30. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, April 10, 1923.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*; *New York World*, April 10, 1923.

33. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, April 12, 1923; Minutes of the Joint Com-

On April 22, 1923, the grand jury indicted Higginbotham for "murder in the first degree."³⁴ Immediately afterwards all witnesses were summoned to appear before the legislative investigating committee in Tallahassee. Stokes pointed out that since Higginbotham was under indictment and the Putnam Lumber Company was faced with a \$50,000 civil suit filed by Tabert's family, the investigation should create no prejudice against them, but the charges against Sheriff Jones should be investigated.³⁵

On April 17 the sheriff was on the stand and admitted that he received \$20.00 for each convict he delivered; after expenses, he netted about \$15.00 per man. Senator Stokes asked Jones if he lost his commission when a convict paid his fine, and the sheriff said he received his \$20.00 whether the convict served one day or ninety days.³⁶

After hearing testimony from the deputy sheriff of Leon County concerning Tabert's arrest, the committee called County Judge B. F. Willis. He stated that after the boy was arraigned he had pled guilty. No attorney, not even the county prosecuting attorney, was present, according to Willis.³⁷

By April 24, the committee concluded that both Sheriff Jones and Judge Willis should be removed from office. Governor Hardee also supported Jones's removal, but when he was asked if he would resign, the sheriff replied: "Why should I resign, when there has been no evidence against me except from former convicts and persons whom I have discharged from service?"³⁸

The evidence against Jones continued to mount. Jerry Poppell, former jailer of Leon County, testified that the lumber company had made a deal with Jones to "railroad" men into the lease system for a sizable profit. Men charged with vagrancy were brought before the county judge and instructed by the sheriff and his deputies to plead guilty. On several occasions, Poppell said,

mittee in Committee Room in Behalf of the Senate and the House of Representatives Appointed to Investigate the Death of Martin Tabert, Senator Stokes, Chairman, Monday, April 17, 1923, Office of the Secretary of State, The Capitol, Tallahassee.

34. New York *World*, April 12, 1923.

35. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 12, 1923.

36. Minutes of the Joint Committee; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 18, 1923.

37. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 17, 1923.

38. *Ibid.*, April 23, 24, 25, 1923.

these trials took place late at night and were carried out by inebriated court officers.³⁹

The investigating committee checked Jones's records and found conclusive evidence against him. During the seven months prior to the time Jones entered into the agreement with the lumber company only twenty men had been arrested as vagrants for riding trains without tickets. In the following seven months 154 men were arrested. The *Tampa Tribune* reported that Jones had admitted that he had delivered 163 men to the lumber company; he had netted at least \$2,500 in a comparatively short time.⁴⁰

The committee began questioning witnesses on April 18 concerning Higginbotham's role in Tabert's death. Eighteen-year old John Gardner testified that he had been "whipped three times within a week, that he received approximately fifty licks each time and that Walter Higginbotham, the convict boss charged with murder in connection with the death of Martin Tabert, did the whipping."⁴¹ He had been beaten so severely that he was unable to lie on his back for thirty days. He then told the committee that Higginbotham had brutally flogged Tabert four days before he died.⁴²

Higginbotham claimed: "The whipping was administered following reports submitted by one of the guards in charge of Tabert's squad in which the prisoner was accused of shirking." When Tabert reported that he was ill, a doctor was sent for and medical attention was provided, but Higginbotham concluded that Tabert was not doing his job according to orders and administered a light whipping of ten licks. He denied that he had held Tabert in position by placing his foot on the boy's neck.⁴³

A. P. Shivers, a convict guard who had worked for the Putnam Lumber Company, sharply contradicted Higginbotham's statements. According to him Tabert was healthy when he first came to the camp but soon after he "was suffering with running

39. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1923; Minutes of the Joint Committee.

40. *Tampa Tribune*, April 25, 1923; E. Lassande to Samuel McCoy, n. d., McCoy Papers. On April 27, the Senate removed Sheriff Jones from office. According to the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, Judge Willis was removed from office May 16, 1923.

41. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 18, 1923.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Minutes of the Joint Committee; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 19, 1923; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 20, 1923.

sores," and his legs were so swollen and diseased that he "could hardly drag around."⁴⁴ The day Tabert was beaten, the convicts had walked two miles to the swamp, and the boy could not keep up. When the convicts returned that night, Higginbotham made Tabert lie on his stomach before the rest of the men. Then, according to Shivers, "Higginbotham pulled up his shirt. He gave him about thirty licks as Tabert groaned and screamed for mercy. Tabert kept on twitching his body so Higginbotham placed the heel of his boot on the youth's neck to make him keep his body rigid. He then gave him about forty or fifty more licks. Higginbotham told Tabert to get up and the boy was a little slow about it so Higginbotham said, 'you can't work yet, eh?' and pushed the boy down on the ground. This time he gave him about twenty-five licks. He told Tabert to get up and when the secretary [*sic*] straightened up, Higginbotham made a pass at him with the handle of the strap. He missed him and Tabert staggered around in a half circle with Higginbotham hitting him over the head and shoulders."⁴⁵ Afterwards Tabert was unable to move from his cot, and the odor coming from his quarters was very offensive. Higginbotham looked in on Tabert, and later he told Shivers that he thought the boy might die. Tabert died the following night.

Dr. T. Caper Jones, convict camp physician, had examined the body and pronounced that death had resulted from pneumonia with malaria complications. After extensive interrogation by the legislative committee, Dr. Jones announced that the real cause of death was syphilis, but that he had not reported this because of the embarrassment it might have caused the Tabert family.⁴⁶ In view of Jones's conflicting testimony and his misstatement of the facts, the committee recommended that his testimony be referred to the State Board of Medical Examiners and that "the medical profession be purged of a seemingly unworthy member."⁴⁷

44. *Tampa Tribune*, April 18, 1923; Minutes of the Joint Committee.

45. *Ibid.*

46. Minutes of the Joint Committee; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 19, 1923; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 18, 26, 1923; "Out to See the World," McCoy Papers.

47. G. Grimson to McCoy, April 30, 1923, McCoy Papers. The Senate adopted a resolution which officially denounced Jones as a "disgrace to the profession."

Higginbotham went on trial for first degree murder on June 5, 1923, in Lake City. The state charged that Tabert had died from the whipping administered by Higginbotham. W. Padgett, a former convict guard at the Putnam Lumber Company, testified that Tabert had pleaded with Higginbotham not to beat him, but that the whipping boss had administered seventy-five lashes with a leather strap.⁴⁸ J. E. Jackson, also a former guard, supported Padgett's testimony.

The defense attorneys did not deny that Tabert had been beaten, but argued that this was "in accordance with prison regulations which specified ten lashes."⁴⁹ Higginbotham testified that he had to whip Tabert. The convict had been reported for not working on at least three occasions, and he was whipped after the third report and received only eight lashes. Higginbotham denied the charge that he had placed his foot on Tabert's neck.⁵⁰

In view of the conflicting testimony, the jury's duty was difficult. After considerable deliberation, however, they found the defendant guilty of second degree murder. On July 8, 1923, Judge A. G. Campbell sentenced Higginbotham to twenty years in the state penitentiary.⁵¹ He was released after posting a \$10,000 bond. Through considerable legal maneuvering, the case was reviewed by the Florida Supreme Court in 1924. On the basis of a legal technicality, the court reversed the decision of the Columbia County Circuit Court and granted Higginbotham a new trial to be held in Dixie County.⁵² The Columbia County Court records were transferred to the Dixie County Circuit Court Clerk on January 27, 1925. This was the last action taken in the Higginbotham case.⁵³

48. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, June 27, 1923.

49. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1923.

50. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1923.

51. Minutes of the Circuit Court of Columbia County, July 8, 1923, 166, Columbia County Courthouse, Lake City; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, July 10, 1923.

52. Minutes of the Circuit Court of Columbia County, October 30, 1924, 345; *Florida Reports*, 1924, *T. W. Higginbotham v. State of Florida*, 26, 43.

53. Minutes of the Circuit Court of Columbia County, January 27, 1925, 381; Minutes of the Circuit Court of Dixie County, special term beginning March 1925, Dixie County Courthouse, Cross City; Grimson to McCoy, September 11, 1924, McCoy Papers. Although the Dixie County Circuit Court minutes show that Higginbotham was involved subsequently in an assault and battery charge, the minutes contain no reference to a murder trial involving the convict-whipping boss. Apparently Higginbotham served no time for his role in the Tabert affair.

Perhaps those who worked to see justice prevail after Tabert's death could take some consolation in the outcome of the civil suit for \$50,000 damages brought against the Putnam Lumber Company by the Tabert family. On November 29, 1923, the company agreed to settle out of court. The Taberts received \$20,000, and in return publicly stated that the company was absolved "of all willful blame."⁵⁴

Although the investigating committee had utilized most of its time uncovering the circumstances surrounding Tabert's death, the committee was equally concerned with the convict brutalities which had occurred elsewhere in the state. Substantial evidence was uncovered of convict mistreatment in the turpentine camps in Baker and Bradford counties owned by State Senator T. J. Knabb.⁵⁵ Although the committee's findings in the Tabert incident overshadowed their investigation of these camps, the evidence produced against the senator was significant. The county convict-lease system with all its abuses had been in operation for many years, but the public knew little of its workings. The record of brutalities uncovered by the investigating committee focused the attention of the public at last upon the cruel treatment prisoners received at the hands of private corporations.

Paul Revere White, a nineteen-year old from Washington, D. C., had been arrested while walking on a highway near White Springs, Florida. Convicted of vagrancy and sentenced to six months in the Alachua County jail, he was leased to Senator Knabb and put to work scraping turpentine boxes in Baker County. White testified that because he could not do as much work as the Negro hands, he was "kicked, beaten, and whipped practically every day during the time he was at Knabb's camp."⁵⁶ White's testimony was substantiated by Dr. Lamb of Macclenny who claimed the "youth's hands and feet were minus skin to the flesh, deep seated ulcers were found on his legs, and one or more ribs were fractured where . . . the whipping boss hit him with his fist, and where he had also kicked him."⁵⁷

Convict supervisor J. B. Thomas reported to Commissioner

54. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, November 28, 1923; Grimson to McCoy, October 9, 1923, McCoy Papers.

55. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, March 9, 1923.

56. *Tampa Tribune*, April 29, 1923.

57. *Ibid.*

of Agriculture W. A. McRae that White was forced to sleep on a cot with no covering when the temperature was eighteen degrees, and that he had removed him because "it meant murder to leave the man at the camp." According to Thomas, "Mr. Knabb is running a human slaughter pen at this convict camp, and I respectfully request that Roddenberry and Thompson, both of these men are Knabb's wardens, be placed on the blacklist and that Knabb's camp be discontinued."⁵⁸

Using Thomas's report and other evidence, the Baker County grand jury conducted an investigation and indicted Captain John Roddenberry for cruelty to convicts. Before a trial date was set, Knabb was summoned to appear before the legislative investigating committee. Upon his arrival in Tallahassee, he announced his innocence of the brutality charge. After a conference with Thomas, Knabb issued a statement written by Thomas which essentially denied what the supervisor had earlier stated. He now insisted that the case had been exaggerated and that the senator's men had not been excessively cruel and inhumane.⁵⁹ Thomas's statement was the catalyst for a thorough investigation of conditions at Knabb's camps.

According to Mrs. Thelma Franklin, wife of the postmaster and storekeeper of Glen St. Mary, the Putnam Lumber Company convict camp brutalities were mild in comparison with conditions existing at Knabb's camp. She said that when she saw White he "looked like a corpse." She also told how Thompson, one of the guards, had killed a woman and her daughter. Mrs. Franklin testified that nine convicts were killed at the camp. When Senator Stokes asked her why she was so willing to testify, she said: "What I have to testify is for the sake of humanity and to allow people of the country to know the real truth."⁶⁰

When convict supervisor Thomas was called to the witness stand, Senator Stokes asked him why he had first described Knabb's camp as a "slaughter pen" and then later claimed that Paul White had neither been cruelly nor inhumanely treated. Thomas did not answer to the committee's satisfaction, but he did admit that at least nine deaths at Knabb's camp had not been investigated.⁶¹

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1923.

60. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1923.

61. *Ibid.*; Minutes of the Joint Committee.

As the committee completed its work, Senator W. H. Mapoles proposed that Knabb be removed from the Florida Senate unless he could disprove the allegations that had been made; Knabb's attorneys were unable to refute Mrs. Franklin's charges.⁶²

The investigating committee concluded its work May 10, 1923. It recommended that the county convict-lease system be abolished, that corporal punishment of state and county convicts be forever prohibited, and that the laws governing the care and housing of convicts be revised.⁶³ The committee's investigation was the catalyst for an increasingly vocal sentiment against the lease system. As the committee uncovered more and more brutalities, abolitionist sentiment developed throughout the United States. For the first time many individuals and organizations were openly opposing this kind of penal system.

United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher called for an end to the practice of leasing convicts to private parties.⁶⁴ Tampa's Board of Trade passed a resolution condemning the cruelty and lack of humanity and the graft growing out of the iniquitous system which brought disgrace to the state. The resolution urged the abolition of corporal punishment and the lease system.⁶⁵ The Milwaukee Woman's Club also asked the Florida legislature to take steps to put the state's penal system in harmony with the times. The ladies noted that human slavery was abhorrent, and that Florida's penal system was even more abominable.⁶⁶

The Grand Council of Georgia and Florida of the Order of United Commercial Travelers of America called for an end to the lease system and the use of the whip. The Rotary Club of Gainesville termed the system indefensibly bad, and to show that Florida did not condone human barbarism, it must "wipe out every vestige of this system."⁶⁷ Mayor Frank Fortune Pulver of St. Petersburg described the leasing of convicts and using the

62. *Tampa Tribune*, May 12, 1923; interview with Barney J. Padgett, Macclenny, July 10, 1963; interview with John F. Baker, Lake City, July 10, 1963. The records show that although Knabb was not removed from the Senate, the Alachua County commissioners severed their contract with the senator.

63. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1923, 1591.

64. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 16, 1923; *New York World*, April 13, 1923.

65. *Florida House Journal*, 1923, 817.

66. *Ibid.*, 1495.

67. *Ibid.*, 1843.

lash as not only inhuman but un-American. The tourist business, he said, was suffering because of the bad publicity Florida was receiving, and the "delay in removing the one horrible and ugly sore spot is making Florida synonymous with Russian Bolshevism."⁶⁸ The United Daughters of the Confederacy of Florida denounced the "barbarous system under which human beings [are] virtually sold into slavery and brutally whipped, regardless of their physical condition or the degree of their offense."⁶⁹ The members of the Union Congregational Church of Crystal Springs also demanded immediate legislative action.

When the legislature abolished the state convict-lease system in 1919, abolition sentiment had been encouraged by the Florida press in general and especially the *Tampa Tribune*. The leadership in the abolition movement following Tabert's death, however, came from two out-of-state citizens— Amos Pinchot and Samuel D. McCoy. Pinchot, a New York attorney and brother of Gifford Pinchot, made Florida his winter home, and he was interested in the problems of the state. McCoy was a correspondent for the New York *World*, and he covered the Tabert case for that newspaper. On April 16, 1923, Pinchot, in a letter to Mrs. William S. Jennings and to Miss Elizabeth Skinner, denounced the convict-lease system and the use of the lash. He said that the brutalities had "clouded the skies and darkened the waters of [his] old hunting and fishing grounds." He did not blame entirely men like Higginbotham who were merely instruments of the system. When the state legalized convict leasing it had put excessive power into the hands of camp guards and unlimited brutality was the result. Pinchot reminded the ladies that cruelty breeds crime.⁷⁰ Pinchot realized that there would be some opposition to a move to eliminate the lease system. He felt that corporate interests would oppose abolition and that state officials would merely go through the motions necessary to pacify public opinion. If the state refused to act, Pinchot threatened that he and other sportsmen would vacation elsewhere. Florida, he insisted, had to right the wrongs committed by those who had been "contemptuous of the sanctity of the human body and the dignity

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*, 1844.

70. Amos Pinchot to Elizabeth Skinner and Mrs. W. S. Jennings, April 16, 1923, Amos Pinchot Papers, Library of Congress, copy in McCoy Papers.

of human life."⁷¹ Pinchot sent copies of his letter to McCoy and the editor of the *New York World*, noting that he had seen the lease system in operation. It was his hope that his communication would help the efforts of the *World* and others to eliminate the brutal system.⁷²

George Westcott Stearn of the American Agricultural Association congratulated Pinchot on his stand and denounced the system as "only another name for and form of SLAVERY."⁷³ He called on President Warren G. Harding and the United States Attorney General to use their influence in the abolition movement.⁷⁴

Governor A. B. Cox of North Dakota thanked Pinchot for his efforts, and noted the hundreds of letters that his office had received from throughout the United States. It was his opinion that "unless the existing evils in connection with the leasing of convicts are corrected in the state of Florida . . . a great many of those who go to Florida for their vacations will be constrained to visit other states."⁷⁵

While Pinchot vigorously worked for abolition, McCoy of the *New York World* was supplying his paper with on-the-spot coverage of the investigating committee's work. McCoy had been sent to Florida to investigate the Tabert case and he remained for nearly two months, telegraphing a dispatch almost every day.⁷⁶

McCoy's articles were very significant. Largely because of his stories papers throughout the country printed editorials demanding the abolishment of the lease system and the lash.⁷⁷ In Florida, some fifty papers strongly attacked the lease system.

As the Tabert investigation continued, the House began debate on the bill to end the lease system. Representative Nathan Mayo, chairman of the house convict committee, caused a stir when he displayed convict paraphernalia, including a whipping strap, threadbare clothing splashed with swamp muck, and torn and mismated shoes. According to Mayo the whip was loaded at the handle end, and "it was a frequent practice to treat the strap

71. *Ibid.*

72. Pinchot to editor, *New York World*, April 16, 1923, Pinchot Papers.

73. George Westcott Stearn to Pinchot, April 20, 1923, *ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*

75. A. B. Cox to Pinchot, April 20, 1923, *ibid.*

76. "The Death— And Life of Martin Tabert," McCoy Papers.

77. August Rehan to McCoy, April 24, 1923, *ibid.*

with syrup and oil and drag it in the sand to give it more 'effectiveness'.⁷⁸ While holding the trousers aloft, Mayo moved that the rules be waived and that the lease system and corporal punishment be abolished. Following this dramatic scene the House decided to act. One member stated: "Let's go at it right, while we are at it. Most of the other states in the Union, and even Georgia, have discontinued corporal punishment."⁷⁹

Senator W. A. MacWilliams introduced a bill to abolish the lease system, and it passed the Senate April 20 by a vote of thirty-one to one. However, an initial effort to abolish the lash failed. As the debate continued in the senate, several members declared themselves in favor of a modified lease system. Included in this group were Senators J. B. Johnson and T. J. Knabb. In a bitter letter the justice committee of the Ku Klux Klan labeled the two legislators as "human devils and bribe takers" and traitors to their state. They were warned that if they continued their stand they might receive 100 lashes and a coat of tar and feathers.⁸⁰

On May 12, 1923, the Senate passed a bill prohibiting the use of corporal punishment on county convicts. The House endorsed this action by a vote of sixty-one to eight,⁸¹ and Governor Hardee signed both bills.⁸²

78. *Tampa Tribune*, April 14, 1923.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Justice Committee of the Ku Klux Klan to Senators J. B. Johnson and T. J. Knabb, n. d., McCoy Papers; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, May 9, 1923.

81. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, May 12, 1923; New York *World*, May 13, 1923.

82. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 24, 25, 1923; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, May 24, 25, 1923; New York *World*, May 25, 1923; *Laws of Florida*, 1923, 231, 412-13.

**ROAD FROM RECEIVERSHIP:
CLAUDE PEPPER, THE DUPONT TRUST,
AND THE FLORIDA EAST COAST RAILWAY**

by ALEXANDER R. STOESEN*

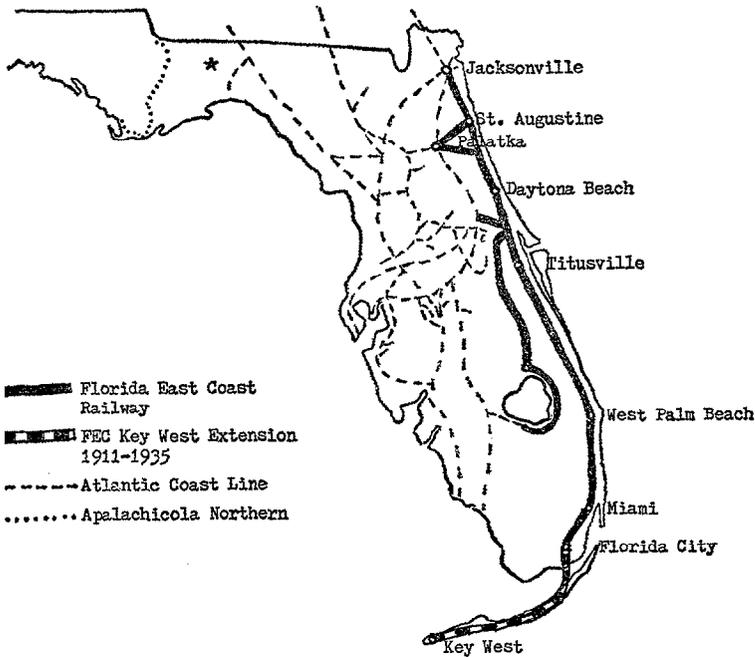
IN DECEMBER 1971, the longest labor dispute in United States history came to an end when a settlement was reached in the Florida East Coast Railway strike.¹ It began in January 1963, and was viewed nationally as a test case of railway labor work rules. Hopes for an early conclusion faded, however, as each side dug in for a fight to the bitter end.² Strife was not new to the troubled history of the FEC; it had been an object of controversy for many years, and possibly the violence-torn decade of the 1960s might have been avoided if it had been merged with a major trunk line. Instead, it became an independent line controlled by a subsidiary of the Florida duPont interests. The question of control was one of the basic issues which confronted those concerned with the complex bankruptcy proceedings that involved the line in the late 1940s.

At that time two major figures in Florida's history— Senator Claude Pepper and Edward Ball, senior trustee of the Alfred I. duPont estate— clashed over the future of the railroad. On the surface they seemed to be concerned with questions of finance, personnel, and the “public interest,” but in reality much more was at stake. The FEC case became a microcosm of a larger conflict which left a lasting imprint on the political and economic life of Florida. The technicalities of the bankruptcy proceedings were complicated by the reverberations of strong personalities and their knowledge of the deeper issues involved. This became apparent as the matter was argued and reargued for years before the Interstate Commerce Commission and the courts. Ball finally won the railroad, and Pepper's political career was temporarily

* Mr. Stoesen is chairman, Department of History, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

1. *Wall Street Journal*, December 20, 1971; July 3, 1972.

2. J. Richard Elliott, “Road From Serfdom, The Florida East Coast Is Signalling the Way,” *Barron's*, XLIV (May 11, 1964), 3.



Florida East Coast Railway, Atlantic Coast Line, and Apalachicola Northern Systems in Florida

derailed, but along the way the Senator had predicted trouble for labor if the line went to the duPont interests. His predictions came true, and railway labor, which opposed him, learned from hard experience the accuracy of his forecast.

The strike came shortly after the St. Joe Paper Company, a subsidiary of the Alfred I. duPont Trust, gained full control of the railroad, a process that had taken twenty years. However, the real beginnings of the story can be traced back to 1926, when duPont became a citizen of Florida— the year after Pepper arrived in the state.³

The contrast between Pepper and duPont could not have been sharper. Claude Pepper had lived under a financial shadow

3. "Statement Regarding Reorganization Proceedings, Florida East Coast Railway by the Trustees of the Alfred I. duPont Estate," July 1947, copy in Claude Pepper Papers, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland. Other Pepper Papers are in the Claude Pepper Law Offices, Miami Beach. Hereinafter noted as Pepper Papers, FRC or MB.

all his life, had pulled himself up by his bootstraps, been graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Alabama, and had obtained a law degree at Harvard in 1924. After a year of teaching at the University of Arkansas, he moved to Perry, Florida, in 1925, to work for a land development company. He hoped to pay off the family debt of about \$1,000.⁴ On the other hand, Alfred I. duPont was a scion of one of the wealthiest industrial families of America. Weary of the power struggles in the E. I. duPont deNemours Company, he "made up his mind to do what he could to rehabilitate Florida" after the collapse of the boom in 1926. With his brother-in-law Ed Ball he began a search for opportunities to invest his personal fortune of \$34,000,000.⁵

Thus duPont moved in to pick up the pieces of the state's shattered economy. Seeking to "salvage something on which a chastened and perhaps wiser populace could rebuild," he was "spectacularly successful and . . . kept the Sunshine State afloat during the thirties."⁶ DuPont died in 1935, and an estate trust was set up with Ball as the dominant trustee. Outside of holdings in the E. I. duPont deNemours Company, most of duPont's fortune was invested in Florida. Few provisions of the will were made public: Mrs. duPont was to receive an annuity, a crippled children's home in Delaware was to be supported, and Dr. Francis P. Gaines of Washington and Lee University was to be Ball's successor.⁷ DuPont's work was carried on by Ball, who was "ever present with wise counsel and financial strength . . . to promote the well-being of the citizens of Florida."⁸

After the collapse in 1926 of the land company that had brought him to Florida, Pepper decided to remain in Perry. He admitted that life was "dull" there, but it made "living cheap,"

4. Alexander R. Stoesen, "The Senatorial Career of Claude D. Pepper" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1965), 1-27.

5. Marquis James, *Alfred I. duPont, The Family Rebel* (Indianapolis, 1941), 398, 401.

6. *Ibid.*, 398; Elliott, "Road From Serfdom," 3.

7. Champion McD. Davis to Claude Pepper, October 1, 1946, Pepper Papers, FRC; Interstate Commerce Commission *Reports*, "Finance Docket 13170, Florida East Coast Railway Company Reorganization" (April 8, 1947), Vol. 267, 295, 313-14. Hereinafter, "Finance Docket 13170," Interstate Commerce Commission *Reports* will be cited by volume number, ICC, and the page on which the decision begins, with date if not previously cited.

8. Francis Pendleton Gaines, *Edward Ball and the Alfred I. duPont Tradition* (New York, 1959), 21.

and hopefully his new position as a law partner of Judge William B. Davis would be good "from the money point of view."⁹ In the long run it proved better politically. Pepper served in the Florida House of Representatives in 1928, and on the state Democratic Executive Committee. Although he lost a challenge for Park Trammell's senate seat in 1934, two years later, partly as a reward for his "sportsmanlike" acceptance of disputed 1934 returns, he was unopposed for the unexpired term of United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher. Pepper became known as an ardent New Dealer and spokesman for labor and the "little man." In 1938, his primary victory was credited with materially aiding the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.¹⁰

The duPont Trust had been moving to acquire real estate, banks, and industrial property, and was thought to be "the strongest economic and political influence in Florida." There was "no visible opposition" to its efforts to "take over" the state.¹¹ Ball was described as a man with the "ability to see good in something nobody else wants, a willingness to back his bet with money, and the patience to wait for a return." The duPont Trust's purchase of Florida East Coast Railway bonds beginning in 1941 was "an example of this happy knack."¹²

This was the ripest plum to be plucked. Built between 1885 and 1911 by Henry M. Flagler, it had spurred the development of South Florida.¹³ After Flagler's death, the line was extended and improved by an issue of second general mortgage refunding bonds, but by 1931 it was unable to meet either its operating expenses or fixed charges, and in August of that year it went into receivership. The road under receivership operated "successfully and profitably," interest payments were kept up on the first mortgage bonds, and a surplus of cash was accumulated. With the coming of World War II, activity on the east coast of Florida accelerated, and by 1945 the road had accumulated a surplus of about \$20,000,000.¹⁴

9. Pepper to his parents (Mr. and Mrs. Joseph W. Pepper), July 7, 1925, Pepper Papers, MB.

10. Stoesen, "Senatorial Career," 32-54, 124-31.

11. Mrs. Willis M. Ball to Pepper, August 25, 1944, Pepper Papers, FRC.

12. Freeman Lincoln, "The Terrible-Tempered Mr. Ball," *Fortune*, XLVI (November 1952), 144.

13. Sidney W. Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens, 1949).

14. "In the matter of Florida East Coast Railway Company, Debtor, Proceedings in the Reorganization of a Railroad. In the District Court of

In 1936 creditors had begun to demand their lien rights. The district court required them to work out a compromise, resulting in the formation of a "5% Bondholders' Committee" which sought to retrieve the railroad from the court. In 1940, the Interstate Commerce Commission began to move toward a plan of reorganization. It refused to become involved in the complex lien question, maintaining its chief concern was the "public interest." This, the commission felt, could best be served by placing the line under efficient, knowledgeable management.¹⁵

In railroad reorganizations the ICC follows Section 77 of the federal Bankruptcy Act. Creditors are invited to submit plans of reorganization, and the commission accepts one or devises its own. By 1941, the ICC had two plans under consideration. One was from the 5% Committee and the other from the trustees of the duPont estate. Both plans claimed the "public interest" as a major consideration.¹⁶

The plans were "in general substantially the same," the chief difference being in the control of the railroad. The 5% Committee called for three "reorganization managers": the 5% Committee, the "institutional" bondholders, and the courts, each appointing one. A board of directors would be designated by the managers for approval by the court. The duPont trustees envisioned a five-member "reorganization committee": two members appointed by themselves, two from other bondholder groups, and one from the court. A board of directors would be elected annually by stockholders. In that proposal, in exchange for \$4,000,000 in new capital, the Florida East Coast would issue 400,000 new shares of common stock to the Trust, making it the majority stockholder. The 5% Committee wanted new capital to come from operating revenues and claimed duPont capitalization would force them to "surrender . . . part of the ownership of their property."¹⁷

On August 10, 1942, the ICC announced a plan of its own. Valuing the railroad at \$37,000,000, instead of \$29,896,000, as the 5% Committee had, or \$53,796,000, the duPonts' figure, the commission noted that "extraordinary economic conditions" gen-

the United States for the Southern District of Florida, January 22, 1949. [Opinion of] Samuel H. Sibley, Judge Designate," copy in Pepper Papers, FRC: 267 ICC 295, 323, 333, 360ff.

15. 252 ICC 423 (April 6, 1942), 423-24, 431.

16. *Ibid.*, 431-49.

17. *Ibid.*, 437-38.

erated by the war had improved the line's finances to the point where new capital could be secured from "current and prospective earnings." It incorporated the 5% Committee idea of three managers and left out the duPont interests altogether.¹⁸ This decision did not survive in the district court, where it was disapproved on October 19, 1943, as "inequitable," because the accumulation of cash on hand did not "afford due recognition to the rights of security holders" and because the duPont Trust was not allowed to designate a reorganization manager.¹⁹

The case went back to the commission. With the reorganization proceedings at a standstill, the duPont Trust continued to buy first and refunding mortgage bonds in the name of the St. Joe Paper Company, which already ran the Apalachicola Northern Railroad. Soon it had a majority position among the creditors with bonds worth a principle amount of \$23,259,000. Most of these had been purchased from owners who had deposited securities with the 5% Committee, but who now preferred cash at a loss to the vagaries of interminable litigation. By 1944, the 5% Committee had less than \$1,500,000 worth of bonds on deposit.²⁰

On November 8, 1944, the "S. A. Lynch interests," a group of bondholders, proposed keeping financial control, but placing operational control of the FEC in the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. An ACL brief stated the "public interest" would be served best by making the FEC "part of an existing major railroad system," questioned the ability of the St. Joe Paper Company to run a railroad, and considered St. Joe's concern for the public interest "problematical" at best. In response to this, the ICC castigated the Coast Line for its poor showing during the depression of the 1930s and said there would be an "unwise increase in fixed charges for the Coast Line" and an excessive drain on the FEC treasury. The ACL-Lynch proposal was deemed "prima facie impracticable."²¹

The ICC yielded to the dominant duPont position. An order of January 8, 1945, contained the words: "It is thus apparent that the duPont Estate will have control of the reorganized company." Under the plan the line would be run for five years by a "voting

18. 252 ICC 731 (August 10, 1942); 252 ICC 423, 457, 455.

19. 261 ICC 151 (January 8, 1945), 151-52.

20. *Ibid.*, 151, 184.

21. *Ibid.*, 187-91.

trust” made up of two St. Joe trustees and one approved by the court. They would hold on deposit the new common capital stock of the reorganized company.²²

In the opening months of 1945 the Coast Line proposed that the FEC be merged into its own system with an exchange of ACL stock for FEC bonds. The Coast Line would later claim that this was the first time the true “public interest” issue was injected into the matter. Up to this point, according to the Coast Line, the ICC had been concerned only with the “financial or security aspects of the case,” a statement which contained a degree of accuracy.²³ The commission had been involved almost totally in the private interest problems of capitalization and the relative rights of creditors, despite its claim to be working in the “public interest.”

It was now that Pepper began to move to make his opposition to the duPont Trust “visible.” In 1934, during his abortive campaign against Senator Trammell, he had promised the voters that, if elected, he would “not have been in the U. S. Senate a week” before stepping “at least upon the small toe of Big Business.”²⁴ By 1945, he had become a senator with a national and to some extent an international reputation, but his political views remained essentially the same. While there might have been some advantage to an attack on business in the depths of the depression, one might ask whether it was so wise during the closing months of World War II. American business was claiming a major share in winning the war and was offering promises of a better life for all in the postwar era. Pepper, however, refused to accept the idea that the operations of the duPont Trust, or any other large business organization for that matter, were beneficial to the people of Florida. He chose to attack the duPont Trust with full force at a time of peak prosperity. It coincided with the beginning of his own political demise.

There was much in Ball’s favor in any contest he entered. With his money, friends, and imperious attitude, he was one of the most formidable forces in the economic and political life of the state. He claimed that at one time he had been Pepper’s

22. *Ibid.*, 185-86.

23. Champion McD. Davis, “Memorandum for Conference with Senator Pepper,” July 24, 1946, Pepper Papers, FRC.

24. Claude Pepper, “Basic Speech,” 1934 campaign, Pepper Papers, MB.

friend. "In the early days," he said, he had "helped the buzzard get elected."²⁵ But it soon became evident that he and Pepper were natural political enemies. So, despite Ball's kingmaking potential, Pepper would never seek his favor, and, in fact, he moved in the opposite direction. For example, in February 1944, Pepper eloquently defended President Roosevelt's veto of a tax bill containing clauses which would provide benefits for holders of bonds bought at bargain rates for speculative purposes.²⁶ The benefits were made to order for the duPont position in the FEC case, and, although the veto was overridden, Pepper's action was not forgotten. This and other stances caused Pepper to become the object of a campaign aimed at destroying him "once and for all."²⁷

The first chance for this came in the 1944 primaries. Although Ball took a leading role in raising money for Pepper's defeat, he was not successful. Pepper's opponent, J. Ollie Edmonds, president of Stetson University, lost the election, according to Ball, because he was too nice: "I told Ollie he couldn't follow Marquis of Queensberry rules in a barroom brawl, but he wouldn't listen."²⁸ Ball was said to be in a state of "frenzy" in his opposition to Pepper and was determined to wipe out the Senator's ever narrowing margin of victory at the polls.²⁹ Although Ball's support of Edmonds would be played up in the press as a major reason for the Pepper-Ball animosity, it was more of a symptom than a cause.³⁰ Pepper was diametrically and fundamentally opposed to all that Ball epitomized in the way of special interests, the arrogance of wealth and power, and "monopoly."

After "serious reflection" and the decision that he would be "delinquent" in his duty if he did not move to "protect the public interest," Pepper filed a memorandum on April 13, 1945, "in consideration of the public interest," calling for a reopening of the FEC case.³¹ He supported the application of the ACL or "any

25. Lincoln, "Terrible-Tempered Mr. Ball," 156.

26. *Congressional Record*, 78 Cong., 2nd sess., 2049-50.

27. Robert Sherrill, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South; Stars of the New Confederacy* (New York, 1968), 139.

28. Lincoln, "Terrible-Tempered Mr. Ball," 158.

29. Sherrill, *Gothic Politics*, 142.

30. Orlando *Morning Sentinel*, February 1, 1945; *Ft. Lauderdale Daily News*, August 7, 1945; *Miami Herald*, May 22, 1947.

31. Florida East Coast Railway Reorganization, transcript of argument at Washington, D. C., May 29, 1945, 1311; "Memorandum by Senator Claude Pepper of Florida in Support of a Rehearing in this Case, Filed in His Capacity as a Citizen of Florida and on Behalf of the Public," April 13, 1945, 1, Pepper Papers, FRC.

other competent rail carrier . . . to acquire and or operate the Florida East Coast Railroad.” In Pepper’s view, the ICC ruling in favor of the duPont interests meant that it had “wholly renounced its function . . . to protect the public and promote the public welfare.” Alluding to the duPont capitalization proposal, he said the ICC was delivering to them a property worth \$40,000,000 for ten cents on the dollar. He was not, however, questioning anyone’s investment policies, but was concerned with management of the railroad in the best interest of the public³² When he entered the case Pepper knew what he was doing, who his opponents were, and what the consequences might be. It was a step that virtually guaranteed the creation of the “most elaborate crusade of political annihilation ever conducted in southern politics.”³³

A short time later, on May 29, 1945, Pepper, in oral argument before the commission, again pressed for a reopening. He began by discussing the Bankruptcy Act and the precedents of the ICC in railroad reorganizations, but quickly shifted to what became a constant drumbeat in the proceedings— his attack on duPont power in Florida and the autocratic methods of Ball. He said it was apparent the “Commission did not have the facts about the duPont estate” or its dominant trustee. The commission’s latest order would place 16.3 per cent of Florida’s railroad mileage at the “uncontrolled discretion of one man,” who in the past had “not been averse to attempting to influence public policy.”³⁴ The weight of Pepper’s elected position and the claim that the ICC had lacked information and had been derelict in its duty brought a reopening of the case. November hearings were scheduled for West Palm Beach and Washington, D. C.

Faced with the reopening of the case, opponents of the Coast Line plan sprang into action to mobilize opinion against it. A number of pamphlets were issued, two of which bore the name of W. F. Howard, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. His most reasonable point was that FEC employees would have to move to other cities if the merger took place, but otherwise his papers stirred the emotion rather than the intellect. He

32. Pepper, “Memorandum,” April 13, 1945, 9ff.

33. Sherrill, *Gothic Politics*, 140.

34. Railway Reorganization, argument, May 29, 1945, 1308-11.

took a strong stand in favor of duPont control. The FEC should be “preserved as an INDEPENDENT INSTITUTION OWNED AND OPERATED BY FLORIDA PEOPLE,” he claimed, but for “some unexplained reason” Pepper supported the ACL petition for “the sale” of a Florida owned institution to out-of-state interests. The merger constituted forced sale of the property which sounded “more like the rantings of Nazis than it does the citizens of a free and democratic country.” He urged those on the east coast to “rise up in opposition to the request of Senator Pepper and the Atlantic Coast Line.”³⁵

Pepper was correct in his observation that it “would be naive indeed” to think that these pamphlets “were written by anyone other than a skillful propagandist” because Frank D. Upchurch of St. Augustine later admitted he had a hand in it.³⁶ The attack was something of a surprise and a discomfort to a labor advocate like Pepper. A complaint was registered with the ICC about “misleading propaganda,” but nothing could be done to stop it and efforts to counter it were of little effect.³⁷

Pepper pointed “with pride” to his labor record, and urged labor to rely on his estimate that their interests would be protected under the Coast Line plan. He, too, indulged in name-calling, saying he knew of “nothing in the duPont’s record that can assure the laboring man of fair treatment.” He, for one, could not “visualize Mr. Ball in the role of a benefactor of labor.” Pepper warned, “If this road is put in the hands of the duPont interests, my friends among the workers will regret it to the end of their lives.”³⁸ He was right, but in the 1940s Pepper’s seemed to be a voice crying in the wilderness.

Pepper had planned a trip to Europe at the end of World War II, so despite the fact that he had petitioned for new hearings, he was abroad when they were held. Champion McD. Davis, president of the Coast Line, cabled him in Bucharest, Rumania, saying it would be “fatal” if he was not present at the West Palm Beach hearings. The opposition was “making capital” of the like-

35. *The Cat Is Out of the Bag, Now It Must Be Summarily Dealt With*, 3; *An Urgent Plea by Employees of the Florida East Coast Railway to All Citizens on the East Coast of Florida*, 7, 14, 15, Pepper Papers, FRC.

36. “Memorandum by Claude Pepper, Senator from the State of Florida In His Capacity as a Citizen of Florida and On Behalf of the Public. On Plan of Reorganization,” February 14, 1946, 41, Pepper Papers, FRC.

37. 267 ICC 295, 332-34.

38. Pepper, “Memorandum,” February 14, 1946, 40, 47.

lihood of his absence, and “will completely ridicule if you do not appear at all.”³⁹ But Pepper did not “deem it necessary . . . to appear at hearing,” and promised to file a written statement upon returning.⁴⁰ As a result, “Pepper’s absence . . . was the highlight of this battle of financial giants.”⁴¹ Absence was an error of considerable proportion on Pepper’s part, and seemed to indicate that he had misjudged the ability of the duPont interests to marshal support. The matter was building up into a Pepper-Ball feud, and the opposition took advantage of every chance it had to attack.

At the West Palm Beach hearings Ball himself appeared as a witness. He had assurances that no “competent” employee of the FEC should feel the “slightest concern about his or her future” under St. Joe Paper Company management. But the commission later noted that he was a “hostile witness,” who, “while responsive in his answers to some of the questions . . . in answer to many other questions, he was vague, indefinite, and adroit.” Thus it was impossible to determine the “fitness” of the paper company to control the railroad. The ICC concluded that his unwillingness to disclose facts constituted “an unsatisfactory attitude on the part of the principal witness of that company.” Of the three congressional figures who presented testimony, Florida Representative Joe Hendricks was the only duPont supporter. He expressed fears that the merger would “adversely affect the employees” and he denounced “absentee owners.”⁴²

Representative J. Hardin Peterson and Pepper’s senatorial colleague, Charles O. Andrews, who cited congressional policy which favored merging weak railroads with strong ones, sided with Pepper. An exchange of letters between Andrews and Ball, who “took Senator Andrews to task for urging the reopening” of the case was read. Andrews “replied to the effect that his interest in the proceeding was the welfare of the people.”⁴³

Along with the transcript of the hearings which awaited Pepper on his return to the United States were urgent warnings from friends and supporters who told him “a great deal of feeling has

39. Davis to Pepper, November 1, 1945 (cable), Pepper Papers, FRC.

40. Pepper to James C. Clements, November 3, 1945 (cable), Pepper Papers, FRC. Clements was Pepper’s administrative assistant.

41. *Jacksonville Journal*, November 6, 1945.

42. 267 ICC 295,326, 315, 317, 335.

43. *Ibid.*, 334-35.

been created in favor of the Florida East Coast being purchased by the duPont interests.⁴⁴ Criticism of Pepper was mounting—“You certainly have been Crusified [*sic*] down the East Coast on this deal” — and a railway labor leader warned that if he did not quit tampering with the FEC he would be “committing political suicide.”⁴⁵ This was a matter of great importance to many people in Florida, he was informed; his extended stay in Europe had kept him from knowing what the “Florida folks are doing and thinking.” He was on the “losing end of public opinion” and must, “do something about his misunderstood position.”⁴⁶

Ball had been busy securing the support of chambers of commerce and county commissioners. He had achieved a “masterpiece” in selling his proposal to the public.⁴⁷ One approach was to “create the impression that there might be some improper relationship” between Pepper and the Coast Line.⁴⁸ This was underscored in newspaper editorials which explained Pepper’s actions as motivated by a secret deal with the ACL.⁴⁹ Pepper reacted by urging other railroads to enter the proceedings. The Southern and Seaboard did. At first the Southern took essentially a neutral position, but after the St. Joe Paper Company arranged preferential treatment for the transfer of freight to the Southern beyond Chattahoochee, the Southern switched to the duPont side, claiming its interests were best served by maintenance of the FEC as an independent carrier. The Seaboard opposed the merger as well. Pepper had hoped the other lines would offer plans for consideration, but neither did.⁵⁰

Pepper was aware of the pitfalls in the path he had chosen. He said he realized “when I undertook to oppose the duPont

44. Moorman M. Parrish to Clements, November 13, 1945, Pepper Papers, FRC.

45. Chester S. Dishong to Pepper, n.d. [December 1945]; R. G. Smith to Pepper, February 7, 1946, Pepper Papers, MB.

46. Parrish to Clements, November 20, 1945, Pepper Papers, FRC.

47. J. A. Cawthon to Pepper, February 24, 1946, Pepper Papers, FRC.

48. Parrish to Clements, November 13, 1945, Pepper Papers, FRC.

49. *Palatka Daily News*, October 2, 1945; *Ft. Lauderdale Daily News*, August 7, 1945; *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, February 1, 1945; *Jacksonville Journal*, October 5, 1945.

50. 267 ICC 295, 336ff; Pepper, “Memorandum,” February 14, 1946, 33, 52; Pepper, “Brief of Claude Pepper, Senator from the State of Florida, in His Capacity as a Citizen of Florida and on Behalf of the Public, on Plan of Reorganization,” August 15, 1946, 22; Florida East Coast Railway Reorganization, transcript of argument at Washington, D. C., October 9, 1946, 4568-69, copy in Pepper Papers, FRC.

interests that I would be very much vilified and undoubtedly misunderstood” and that the “criticism . . . might achieve the intensity of denunciation or recrimination.” Even though it had “chanced to become so” he would hold to his course because he considered Ball and the duPont interests “a menace to the state . . . not [to] be trusted with a great public utility like this railroad.”⁵¹

On February 14, 1946, Pepper filed his promised written statement. Later, on August 15, he submitted a fifty-two page brief to the ICC, and he also appeared at additional hearings held in Washington on October 9 and 10. In all three instances his major emphasis was why the duPont Trust should not control the line rather than why another plan should be accepted, which tends to discredit the contention that an “improper relationship” existed between Pepper and the ACL.

In his arguments which did not directly refer to the duPonts he repeatedly explained the provisions of Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act which placed the major burden of railway reorganization on the ICC in order to relieve the courts of long, drawn out equity cases. Pepper sought to make clear that owning railway securities and operating a railroad were two different things and pointed out a Supreme Court ruling that the ICC could order a merger despite nonacceptance by creditors.⁵² Many years earlier the power of the commission to require disassociation of railroads from other interests had been affirmed in a case which involved the Duke Trust.⁵³ The trail through this legal maze was only to back up his contention that the “heart of the matter” was protection of the public interest by joining the FEC to a major system. It did not matter which trunk line, he said, and gave the assurance, “I have no connection with the Atlantic Coast Line.” In order to satisfy him, the Coast Line would have to pay the “full, fair value of the property,” keep the Jacksonville gateway open to competitors, and deal fairly with FEC employees.⁵⁴

51. Pepper to Parrish, December 29, 1945, Pepper Papers, FRC; Railway Reorganization, argument, October 9, 1946, 4650.

52. United States Supreme Court *Reports*, “Reconstruction Finance Corporation *et al.*, v. The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad *et al.*” (April 10, 1946), Vol. 328, 495.

53. Interstate Commerce Commission *Reports*, “In the Matter of Proposed Construction of Lines by Piedmont & Northern Railway Company” (1928), Vol. 138, 363.

54. Pepper, “Memorandum,” February 14, 1946, 1-5, 38; Pepper, “Brief,”

But his lengthy and most volatile arguments were ranged against Ball and the duPont Trust. Apparently ACL President Davis at first supported Pepper's thrusts against "the evils which would result from transfer of control of the East Coast to Mr. Ball," but before Pepper submitted the August 15 brief Davis's memos had dropped mention of the Trust and only referred to the advantages of a merger with the Coast Line.⁵⁵

The Trust, Pepper said, was a "monopolistic concentration of power," and he held the belief that "monopoly is undermining the security and stability of our democratic form of government." DuPont's holdings, including a list of banks and their capitalization, were cited. The "octopus" was solely interested in "developing and making more valuable their property on the east coast." It would be folly to turn over a railroad to "inexperienced and indifferent railroad management." The logical solution was "a natural merger . . . or integration into a main system" such as the Coast Line.⁵⁶ Ball was an "autocratic power in Florida," an "expert propagandist . . . and a thorough realist." He was "ruthless" and when he "snaps his fingers" his employees have to "dance." The "financial and industrial emperor" thought that "he and he alone had the right to dictate the reorganization plan," and his only thought was to build his "empire into a greater and greater economic system." The record, where he avoided definite answers, demonstrated that "Mr. Ball is unfit to control the Florida East Coast Railway." His grasp for power "bodes ill for the people of Florida."⁵⁷

At the Washington hearings the bitterness that had developed between Pepper and the duPont representatives was obvious, and the Trust's attorneys struck back with vengeance. After agreeing that the public interest was indeed at stake, a duPont lawyer said Pepper was really indifferent to the public interest, because at the time of the hearings at West Palm Beach Pepper was "in Moscow learning about the party line." Pepper, stung by this, called it an

August 15, 1946, 12ff; Railway Reorganization, argument, October 9, 1946, 4559, 4568.

55. Davis, "Memorandum," July 24, 1946.

56. Pepper, "Memorandum," February 14, 1946, 15, 34; Pepper, "Brief," August 15, 1946, 10, 12, 26; Railway Reorganization, argument, October 9, 1946, 4594; October 10, 1946, 4812, 4816.

57. Pepper, "Memorandum," February 14, 1946, 16, 17, 21, 23; Pepper, "Brief," August 15, 1946, 20, 25; Railway Reorganization, argument, October 9, 1946, 4600.

“unjustifiable reference” more suitable to the hustings than a hearing. The duPont attorneys went on to attack Pepper for making the matter into a personal feud with Ball.⁵⁸

Following the hearings, the ICC issued a third supplemental report in April 1947, in which it completely reversed its 1945 order. A plan to consolidate the FEC with the Coast Line was issued in a five-to-four decision with two commissioners abstaining. The commission noted that control of the FEC was a “matter of the greatest public interest” as exemplified by the mass of evidence it had received during 1946, and added that “improved and expedited service” could not be obtained by keeping the FEC an independent carrier. After a lengthy discussion of the history of the case the report concluded:

It is clear from the evidence presented, that the St. Joe Company would be in a position, if it controlled the reorganized debtor, to so control its operation as to further its own interests and the other interests of the duPont estate to the ultimate disadvantage not only of the State but to the detriment of the national transportation system as well.⁵⁹

The report spelled out the “fairness of the Coast Line plan”: bondholders would receive fair value in ACL stock, seniority rights of employees would be maintained, and connections with the Southern and Seaboard would be kept open. The Commission stated that the “apprehensions of the citizens and communities of the east coast of Florida that a merger would adversely affect their interests are not justified” because the ACL would “serve all its territory impartially.” The public would have a better transportation service.⁶⁰

Pepper was said to have “let loose” a “shout of triumph” when he heard of this decision.⁶¹ Elsewhere there was gloom. It was said that the people of the east coast were “shocked and bitterly resentful” over the fact that the commission had “flouted the known and proved demand . . . that the Florida East Coast be maintained as an independent carrier under the operation of the Florida duPont interests.” Pepper was accused of causing

58. Railway Reorganization, argument, October 9, 1946, 4689ff.; October 10, 1946, 4808.

59. 267 ICC 295, 308, 318, 326, 348.

60. *Ibid.*, 349, 351, 387-89.

61. *Miami Herald*, May 22, 1947.

harm to his own state by engaging in a personal feud with Ball for abandoning him in 1944.⁶² From Tampa on the west coast, however, came the view that the merger would mean “less chance of abuse of power, the public interest will be better served, and the future of Florida will be brighter.”⁶³ Pepper made a statewide radio address to explain the virtues of the decision, which, he said, was “based upon sound reasoning and sound public policy.” “Time and events,” he was certain, would “confirm the wisdom and justice of the decision.”⁶⁴

In July 1947, the trustees of the duPont estate issued a statement, claiming the ruling “contrary to the law and facts of the case.” The order was analyzed in detail to show that it was not only unlawful but also “unfair” to the workers and bondholders, and “detrimental to the people of the East Coast of Florida.” They observed that public support in favor of the duPont plan had come from every community on the east coast, which “represents the sentiment of a vast majority of the citizens.”

We regret that this plain business matter, of tremendous importance to the entire East Coast of Florida, has as a result of Senator Pepper’s injecting himself in the case, degenerated into a political matter in an apparent attempt by the Senator to obscure the merits of the case and resort instead to improper political lobbying and log-rolling. Many charges and irresponsible statements have been made.

The trustees wished to refute only one of his statements: the idea that they had “already made \$20 million profit on a very small investment in Florida East Coast Railway bonds.” “This statement,” they said, “like many others made by Senator Pepper . . . is grossly inaccurate.” The estate would make no profit because it looked on its investment as “permanent.” On the other hand, if the accumulated cash in the FEC treasury were to be handed over to the Coast Line, the result would be “an investment profit to the Coast Line of \$20,500,000 on the reorganization valuation and \$32,833,000 on the rate-making valuation,” a “tremendous profit” at the expense of FEC bondholders all with no risk or investment on the part of the Coast Line.⁶⁶

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Tampa Tribune*, May 22, 1947.

64. *Radio Address by Senator Claude Pepper, Florida East Coast Railway Reorganization Case*, May 31, 1947, pamphlet, Pepper Papers, FRC.

65. “Statement by Trustees of duPont Estate.”

At the time of the ICC report an opinion was written by the dissenting commissioners on the grounds that the Coast Line was a "stranger seeking to acquire," and they warned that the plan would result in "prolonged litigation."⁶⁶ They were correct; the end was nowhere in sight. The sanguine expressions of public benefit from the merger were accepted by Pepper, the Coast Line, and a few minority bondholders. Thirteen groups of creditors requested "further argument and further hearing," and so in October 1947, the case was reopened again. The ICC had asked the petitioners to present the "constitutional question," feeling that not enough time had been allowed for it. The duPont interests secured the counsel of former Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes, a member of the Senate at the time Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act was amended in 1935. Byrnes held that the plan was an "involuntary merger" which would deprive his clients of their property without due process of law. But the commission, in a six-to-five decision found nothing new brought out in the re-argument, and "'none of the important facts recited in our third supplemental report . . . challenged either by petition or on re-argument.'" It reiterated its belief that the proposed merger was both legal and in the public interest. Backing its decision with a mass of documentation based on precedents, the commission flayed those who bought bonds with the expectation of "wind-fall" profits. The merger plan was reaffirmed in an order of March 25, 1948.⁶⁷

In his review of the order, United States District Court Judge Designate Samuel H. Sibley decided the court did not have to "consider . . . the public interest," only "the rights of each class of creditors and stockholders." Sibley despairingly said it was "perfectly futile to waste time and effort to go further into the matter" since the creditors had already said they would vote against the merger, which should have been a "last resort" measure by the ICC anyway. Deploring the "partisan struggle" connected with the case, he "disapproved and rejected" the ICC plan.⁶⁸

Stunned Coast Line attorneys found the judge not only hostile but also unfamiliar with their briefs and recent Supreme Court

66. 267 ICC 295, 390-91.

67. 267 ICC 729 (March 25, 1948), 729-30, 734, 738.

68. "Opinion of Sibley," 7, 9, 11.

rulings such as the Denver case on railway reorganizations. He had relied on a lay definition of "fair and equitable," they argued, and had attempted to "read the minds" of the commissioners. In their opinion his decision contained an "extraordinary combination of errors," which meant a good chance of having it reversed in the appeals court.⁶⁹

They were to be disappointed. In a two-to-one decision of January 17, 1950, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against the Coast Line. Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, Jr., described the plan as a "forced merger . . . contrary to statute." To Hutcheson, the commission had "closed its eyes" to other possibilities, and had "in desperation . . . seized upon the Coast Line offer as its only way out." The appeals court declared Judge Sibley's "order was right. It is AFFIRMED."⁷⁰

It had been noted earlier that "few observers expect either Claude Pepper or Ed Ball to give up short of at least an effort to get before the Supreme Court." The Coast Line petitioned the high court for a writ of certiorari in February 1950, requesting consideration of whether the ICC had followed the mandates of Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. It also claimed that Judge Hutcheson's ruling would "substantially veto" three previous Supreme Court decisions and create "confusion and uncertainty." Despite a call for the court to deal urgently with a matter "which has been in the Courts since August 31, 1931" the Supreme Court denied the writ in April 1950.⁷¹

After eight years of intensive maneuvering and nearly twenty years in the courts, the Florida East Coast Railway still remained in receivership. Although it continued to operate in a normal fashion, the questions centering around its future remained an unsettling factor in the economy and politics of Florida. It was unfortunate for Pepper that the case was not settled by the 1947 decision of the ICC. At that time the Florida Brotherhood of

69. 328 *Statutes* 495; R. B. Gwathmey to Davis, January 29, 1949; Edward W. Bourne, "Memorandum on Judge Sibley's Opinion," January 27, 1949, copies in Pepper Papers, FRC.

70. United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, "Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company *et al.*, v. St. Joe Paper Company *et al.*," January 17, 1950, copy in Pepper Papers, FRC.

71. *Miami Daily News*, October 13, 1946; United States Supreme Court, "Petition of Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit," October term, 1949, 2-5, 33, copy in Pepper Papers, FRC; *New York Times*, April 4, 1950.

Railway Clerks had distributed copies of a letter written by its state chairman to Pepper accusing the Senator of sponsoring an "illegal transaction" and of deceiving "the people of Florida and the employees of the Florida East Coast in particular." A shrill succession of paragraphs concluded:

You are not a deity, but you are subject to the will of the people, although you apparently do not recognize these facts. I believe this still a government of the people and by, and not of, for and by CLAUDE PEPPER. If you cannot represent the people according to the desires of the majority WHY DON'T YOU GET OUT OF THE SENATE?

It is my personal opinion that you are about as much interested in the welfare of the people of Florida as I am in the breeding and raising of kangaroos in far-off Australia. The people of Florida will tell you more impressively than I can when the proper time comes. Until that time, Senator, why don't you "straighten up and fly right?"⁷²

The "proper time" had come. The case, having remained in abeyance, was on the minds of many union members when Pepper sought the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate in 1950.

The time also had come for Pepper's opponents to test their handiwork, and the results were not disappointing. The Dan Crisp advertising agency of Jacksonville had been "under orders to defeat Pepper" since the mid-1940s, and according to a report a "noose" had been woven for Pepper's political execution.⁷³ Prominent among the forces which opposed Pepper were the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Medical Association. Splinter groups and new organizations were coordinated by the Crisp agency, which, according to one account, sought to "remake the thinking of Florida."⁷⁴ This time there was not only money available for it, but a candidate, Congressman George Smathers of Miami, a protege of Pepper's who "fell into Ball's pot of senatorial campaign money and refused to struggle."⁷⁵ That the work of ending Pepper's political career was well-done became

72. W. F. Howard to Pepper, July 21, 1947, Pepper Papers, FRC.

73. Sherrill, *Gothic Politics*, 143.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*, 149.

evident when state railway labor officials opposed Pepper against the advice of their national leadership.

The dichotomy was seen early in the contest. On January 26, 1950, George M. Harrison, national president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, wrote to labor officials in Florida urging them to "join in the effort to return one of the greatest of Liberals to the Senate."⁷⁶ But W. F. Howard, state chairman, who received one of these letters held quite a different view. In a reply that was mimeographed and sent to union members and officials throughout the state, he said:

Regardless of what you may consider liberalism in Senator Pepper, we on the East Coast of Florida cannot forget, and I had hoped you would not forget what he has attempted to do and is still attempting to do to the employees of the Florida East Coast Railway and the legal owners of the property.

I do not, of course, know whether or not the duPont interests are leading the fight to defeat Pepper, but I certainly hope and pray they are. Why should we be concerned over a strong financial interest leading a fight to defeat the man who is out to destroy our jobs and our homes? I think we should lend assistance to that strong financial interest.

Howard brought up Pepper's vote for the wartime Smith-Connally Labor Act, which liberals of Pepper's stripe had considered a necessity of war, no matter how much they questioned it or agonized over it in their own minds. The state chairman denigrated Pepper's vigorous fight against the Taft-Hartley Act, saying it was a meaningless gesture since it did not affect railway employees. Howard concluded: "I care not one whit about the labor record in Washington of Pepper's opponent. I would vote for anyone opposing Pepper. No one in my opinion could be any worse or less desirable than Claude Pepper."⁷⁷

Railway Labor's Political League sought to counter the opposition of the disgruntled Florida Brotherhoods by advising them to "forget about disagreement" with Pepper on the FEC matter. It was of "relatively small importance" in view of the way Pepper had always "rendered tremendously valuable serv-

76. George M. Harrison to W. F. Howard, January 26, 1950, copy in Pepper Papers, MB.

77. Howard to Harrison, February 5, 1950, copy in Pepper Papers, MB.

ices” and “been right practically all of the time.”⁷⁸ But the emotional appeals of men like Upchurch, chairman of the St. Augustine Chamber of Commerce, were more to the liking of the rank and file of labor. Upchurch stated that Pepper supported a merger to “rob St. Augustine of its principal payroll, one-third of its population, and reduce property values fifty percent.”⁷⁹ The *Orlando Star* chimed in to say that for two years Pepper had sought to give the Coast Line “a stranglehold on the central part of the state.”⁸⁰ The A.F. of L. worked to counter this by publishing special Florida editions of *Labor* calling on workers, and especially railway labor, to “vote, to the last man or woman for Senator Pepper.” Pepper was described as a man who “has never failed us and the people should not fail him now.”⁸¹

Pepper lost the 1950 election, and labor lost one of its best friends and most staunch supporters in the Senate, a man whose record was virtually one hundred per cent in labor’s favor, and who represented the rare phenomenon of an “integrated liberal” in the South. His defeat was one of several which pointed to a trend to the right in southern politics and an end to the pro-New Deal sentiment. Even though he had gotten out of step with majority views in Florida, Pepper was a genuine advocate of the “little man” and had maintained a great deal of independence from the large interests that had begun to move into Florida. His successor, George Smathers, has been described as a senator who was closely aligned with business and industry and an exploiter of patriotic and racial sentiments on the hustings. One journalist saw him as “the perfect case of the southern politician who, having treated his constituents to the public orgy of a witch-burning, is thereafter left alone to the private orgies of serving special interests and himself.”⁸²

It is difficult to say just how much Pepper suffered in the state from the opposition of some labor leaders to his candidacy. Certainly it must have influenced the attitudes of employees of the FEC, but whether other parts of the state were particularly

78. Edward H. Wolfe to all general chairmen residing in the state of Florida, March 28, 1950, copy in Pepper Papers, MB.

79. Frank D. Upchurch to friends, April 26, 1950, copy in Pepper Papers, MB.

80. *Orlando Star*, March 31, 1950.

81. Washington, D. C., *Labor*, April 15, 1950.

82. Sherrill, *Gothic Politics*, 137.

concerned is an open question. It seems clear, however, that among the strongest and oldest unions in the state were the railway brotherhoods, and it is possible that more votes were affected than might appear likely at first. He lost every east coast county but Dade, and carried that by less than 1,000 votes.⁸³ One labor leader later wrote to Pepper that in his "considered judgment . . . your activities in this ACL-FEC case . . . cost you reelection to the United States Senate."⁸⁴ Pepper replied that the Coast Line meant nothing to him, and that he held no brief for it, but rather for the public interest. He concluded with a warning: "I doubt if anyone could be any worse for the public interest or these employees themselves than the duPont banking crowd. . . . Nobody hates labor and everything labor stands for more than that crowd."⁸⁵

After further study by the Interstate Commerce Commission and extended litigation in the district and circuit courts, the FEC case again reached the Supreme Court in 1954, where it was held that the ICC could not order an involuntary merger of the two railroads.⁸⁶ Two years later the Coast Line offered to buy the FEC for \$51,000,000, but in 1958 the courts and commission determined that ownership should be vested in the St. Joe Paper Company, and the ACL "gave up the fight for control."⁸⁷ By 1959 the district court had approved a plan favoring the duPont interests, and in 1960 the line's bankruptcy was officially ended.⁸⁸ Thus, in the view of the courts and the commission, the "public interest" would be served best by maintaining the line as an independent carrier under a Florida-based corporation. While this might have seemed a reasonable and clear logic, only time could really judge the wisdom of any decision regarding the railway.

If there was a feeling of euphoria on the part of labor and local interests it was dissipated in the early 1960s when the question of railway work rules was being studied on a national basis. In January 1963, after the FEC claimed exemption from national

83. *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1949 and Ending December 31, 1950* (Tallahassee, 1951), 264-65.

84. Robert G. Smith to Pepper, May 30, 1950, Pepper Papers, MB.

85. Pepper to Smith, July 12, 1950, Pepper Papers, MB.

86. *New York Times*, April 6, 1954.

87. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1956; April 19, June 3, November 13, 1958.

88. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1960.

bargaining on rules on the grounds that it operated only within Florida, eleven non-operating unions struck the line. The company halted operations and at the same time abolished the strikers' jobs.⁸⁹ Later the company began running trains on a limited basis using men who were willing to work under its rules. Efforts of courts, commissions, and boards to have the FEC reinstate the strikers or put work rule changes into effect failed.⁹⁰ The strike was punctuated by "400 acts of violence" which saw dynamiting of the tracks, and at one time the company itself was said to have sabotaged one of its own trains.⁹¹ In 1965 the State of Florida succeeded for a time in obtaining a recognition of the "public interest" when it required the resumption of passenger service, but the company later sold most of its passenger cars.⁹² In 1969 the Supreme Court ruled that the company could operate the road during the strike and reversed a Florida decision which had prevented picketing.⁹³ The strike lingered on, almost forgotten, with no end in sight.

The settlement in December 1971, came as a "surprise" to many. Ed Ball had the reputation of being harder than nails. A Labor Department official once remarked, "At least nails bend." But Ball bent because the \$1,500,000 in damages the FEC agreed to pay the union was only ten per cent of what might have been exacted under a pending lawsuit. Another reason was a high employee turnover rate, which was costly to the company and undermined its claims of savings. The agreement include a twenty-five per cent pay raise effective January 1, 1972, for employees hired prior to 1970, and annual raises of six per cent for the next three years. There was also a guarantee that no employee would be "required to cross craft lines." Even so, FEC wages were "well below the industry scale," the work force had been cut in half, and union membership was no longer required as a condition of employment.⁹⁴

Business Week reported the settlement was "sweet victory for the unions."⁹⁵ Was this really true for the majority of the strik-

89. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1963.

90. *Ibid.*, November 10, December 24, 1963.

91. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1963; *Wall Street Journal*, August 3, 1965, July 3, 1972.

92. *New York Times*, January 15, 1965; *Wall Street Journal*, January 10, 1966.

93. *Wall Street Journal*, March 26, 1969.

94. "A Break in Florida's Nine-Year Strike," *Business Week* (December 25, 1971), 18; *Wall Street Journal*, December 20, 1971.

95. "Break in Florida's Strike," 18.

ers? When the strike began 1,600 workers walked out expecting the strike to last a few weeks. But weeks, months, and years went by, and in time 900 went back to work on the company's terms, while others found employment elsewhere. Only about 100 stayed out to the bitter end. There was no "victory" for them. Most were either too old or unable to pass the physical examination required under the settlement. At the same time the end of the strike ended the meager union benefits that had enabled them to survive.⁹⁶ A *New York Times* article depicting the plight of one of these men probably has greater accuracy. Under the headline, "Gloom Marks End of Long Florida Rail Strike," it described how the strike had reduced a once proud railroad man to a state of poverty and destitution.⁹⁷ The *Wall Street Journal* found a "very satisfied" Ball the winner of the strike. As one worker put it, "God knows he ought to be, he ran the unions off. And that's what he set out to do so he could run the railroad the way he wanted to."⁹⁸

The road to this outcome was accurately forecast in 1946 by a newsman who predicted that once Ball got the railroad he would lapse back into his "public be damned attitude." He urged Pepper to "let the duPonts have the railroad and then criticize their operation."⁹⁹ This was good advice, but Pepper rejected it. For an astute man to ignore that advice and the warnings of friends and supporters seems out of character, but Pepper was an idealist who believed that labor was depending on him to fight for their rights. The feeling that he could not let labor down compelled him to disregard the possibility of untoward consequences coming from his actions. Also, he seemed to think it was possible for a public figure to act as a private citizen.

More than anything, however, Pepper was a liberal. Since the Broward era liberals have opposed corporation domination in Florida.¹⁰⁰ To them Ball became a very real symbol of evil to be opposed at all costs. Pepper would have fought Ball in any case, but the fact that they had split openly in 1944 certainly made it

96. *Wall Street Journal*, December 20, 1971.

97. *New York Times*, December 26, 1971.

98. *Wall Street Journal*, July 3, 1972.

99. J. A. Cawthon to Pepper, February 20, 1946, Pepper Papers, MB.

100. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950), 62, 151.

easier to attack. The results were tragic for everyone but the duPont Trust. Pepper was right about the consequences of a takeover for labor, but the constituency realized its error too late to pay back Pepper for his continued effort which almost had the quality of sacrifice.

To remain in office Pepper could not afford to sacrifice a single vote. A "conservative-progressive" stance earned Duncan U. Fletcher twenty-seven years in the Senate, and Pepper was an anomaly whose strength clearly had been waning since 1944.¹⁰¹ By miscalculating the extent to which his participation in the FEC matter would alienate many of his old supporters on the east coast and by badly underestimating Ball's strength and ability to win support, not to mention intensifying Ball's hostility, Pepper himself added the last straw to the forces which led to his defeat. Afterwards he said he had "been in a dilemma for a good long while about whether I should seek to continue to represent Florida in the Senate or not."¹⁰²

Was the fight worth what it cost? Labor probably would say "No." Pepper, as an idealist and liberal, would probably reply, "No, but I would go the same route again." Ball probably would say "Yes." In any event, it can only be hoped that from the travail of the past will come a new viability and stability which those connected with the case so richly deserve.

101. Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, 1971), vii.

102. Pepper to Earl Faircloth, May 22, 1950, Pepper Papers, MB.

POSTAL OPERATIONS IN TERRITORIAL FLORIDA, 1821-1845

by RICHARD J. STANABACK*

FLORIDA IN 1821 was transferred from Spanish to American control and the need of providing the territory with internal and external lines of communication was a problem that called for immediate solution.¹ The post office department, which had the responsibility of transporting the mails, played a major role in helping meet the Florida situation. Creating internal communication routes proved formidable since post offices, post roads, and postal personnel had to be supplied before mail service could exist.

From March to July 1821, communication between federal officials and Andrew Jackson, newly appointed governor of Florida, was by a combination of the postal service and special messenger.² Official correspondence and other letters were carried to Milledgeville, Georgia, by post rider and then by messenger to wherever Jackson was encamped.³ At the same time, within the territory, messengers were relied on for communication between local officials. The establishment of post offices and post roads assumed a high priority just as soon as possession of the territory became a reality on July 17, when Jackson raised the American flag over Pensacola.⁴

Most in need of a postal connection to begin with were Pensacola and St. Augustine. The former had been selected by Jackson as his temporary capital, and the latter had been picked by Presi-

* Mr. Stanaback is instructor of history and political science, Pasco-Hernando Community College Dade City, Florida.

1. William M. Mallory, comp., *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements Between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1910), II, 1651-58; *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 2nd sess., 395.
2. Andrew Jackson accepted the position of governor previous to March 1821. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of The United States*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1934-1962), XXII, 9n.
3. *Ibid.*, 56, 70.
4. *Ibid.*, 93, 119, 135, 122024. For mail being sent out of the territory, the post office at Blakeley, Alabama, was probably used. *Ibid.*, 11; *House Documents*, 17th Cong., 1st sess., no. 1, 3-4.

dent James Monroe as a place of residence for the Secretary for East Florida.⁵ But the development of efficient routes of communication between them, as well as to the closest post offices in Georgia and Alabama, was to prove difficult because of the vast expanses of wilderness to be traversed.

The first postal route between Pensacola and Alabama was instituted around June 23, when a line north to Clairborne went into operation. This was a private operation and the mails were carried for the postage they produced.⁶ Two months later, the *Floridian* announced the establishment of an official weekly mail between Pensacola and Clairborne and the opening of a post office there.⁷ Clairborne proved to be an excellent choice as a postal link to Pensacola because it was located on the principal post route between Washington, D. C., and New Orleans.⁸ The postmaster at Pensacola was Cary Nicholas, former army man and co-publisher of the *Floridian*.⁹

The inauguration of the route enabled the mails to make the journey between Pensacola and Washington in seventeen days—about average time for that day of almost non-existent roads and horse-conveyed mails. The time appeared quick, however, when compared to the twenty-five to thirty days it took for letters from parts of Tennessee to reach Pensacola. One explanation for the speedy delivery of the former mail may have been the employment of a stage to convey it between Clairborne and Pensacola.¹⁰ Even then Nicholas was not completely satisfied with the postal

5. *Ibid.*, 53-57, 117. Jackson estimated that some 3,000 Floridians were awaiting a mail connection to the United States in 1821. *Ibid.*, 213n.

6. *Niles Weekly Register*, June 23, 1821.

7. Pensacola *Floridian*, August 18, 1821; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 198; *Niles Weekly Register*, September 29, 1821.

8. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XVIII, 354n. As Congress was not in session, the route was promulgated by the postmaster general under an 1814 law which gave him the power to establish post roads to state and territorial capitals until such time as Congress could establish them. *Annals*, 13th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., 2841-44.

9. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 979n; James Owen Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (Deland, 1926), 67; Pensacola *Floridian*, October 8, 1821.

10. The contractor for the Clairborne Pensacola route had asked the postmaster general for \$1,500, an amount suggesting the use or contemplated use of a stage. The contractor was told the post office could only allow him \$20.00 per trip. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 290. It is difficult to determine exactly the postal operations in Florida during this period as the Letter Received Files of the post office were destroyed by fire in 1836. *House Reports*, 24th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 134, 1-46.

schedules, and he suggested that they could be improved by rebuilding an old Indian trail running eastward from the town and making it a post road. His suggestion was acted upon, but not until the latter part of 1825 would mail be sent east over it.¹¹

Other Pensacola citizens also suggested new routes. In January 1822, a man offered to construct a wagon road to Blakeley, Alabama, lying ninety miles northwest of the town and ten miles east of Mobile. But apparently postal officials were not interested in this proposal.¹² This did not mean that the government did not seek to improve service. On May 8, 1822, Congress authorized three new post routes for Pensacola: one from Mobile, another from Fort Hawkins, Georgia, and a third from St. Augustine.¹³ Two months later, the post office advertised, as was the custom, for bids on the St. Augustine and Fort Hawkins routes plus a third one from Pensacola to Road Forks, Alabama. But either no acceptable bids were received or technical difficulties intervened, as in the case of the St. Augustine route, for only the old Clairborne route was let.¹⁴ The agreement for the latter was to last four years, the usual length of such contracts, from January 1, 1823, to December 31, 1826. The contractor was to receive an annual salary of \$1,200.¹⁵

The first attempt to extend the mails into East Florida probably occurred sometime prior to June 19, 1821, when Jonathan Sturgis Beers was appointed deputy postmaster for St. Augustine. A few days later, on June 29, the post office department informed Beers that a post route was being placed in operation from St. Marys, Georgia, to St. Augustine, and that he was to activate his office as soon as possible.¹⁶ The records do not reveal when the post office at St. Augustine opened, but the *Florida Gazette* announced July 21, 1821:

11. Pensacola *Floridian*, September 8, 1821; Mark F. Boyd, "The First American Road in Florida: Papers Relating to the Survey and Construction of the Pensacola-St. Augustine Highway, Part I," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIV (October 1935), 100.

12. Pensacola *Floridian*, June 28, 1822; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XVIII, 497.

13. *Annals*, 17th Cong., 1st sess., 2643.

14. Boyd, "The First American Road in Florida," 87, 161.

15. *House Documents*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 104, 17. This document has the contractor receiving only \$100 annually which is an obvious misprint. *American State Papers, Post Office Department* (Washington, 1834), 136; *House Documents*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 49, 55.

16. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 4-5, 102.

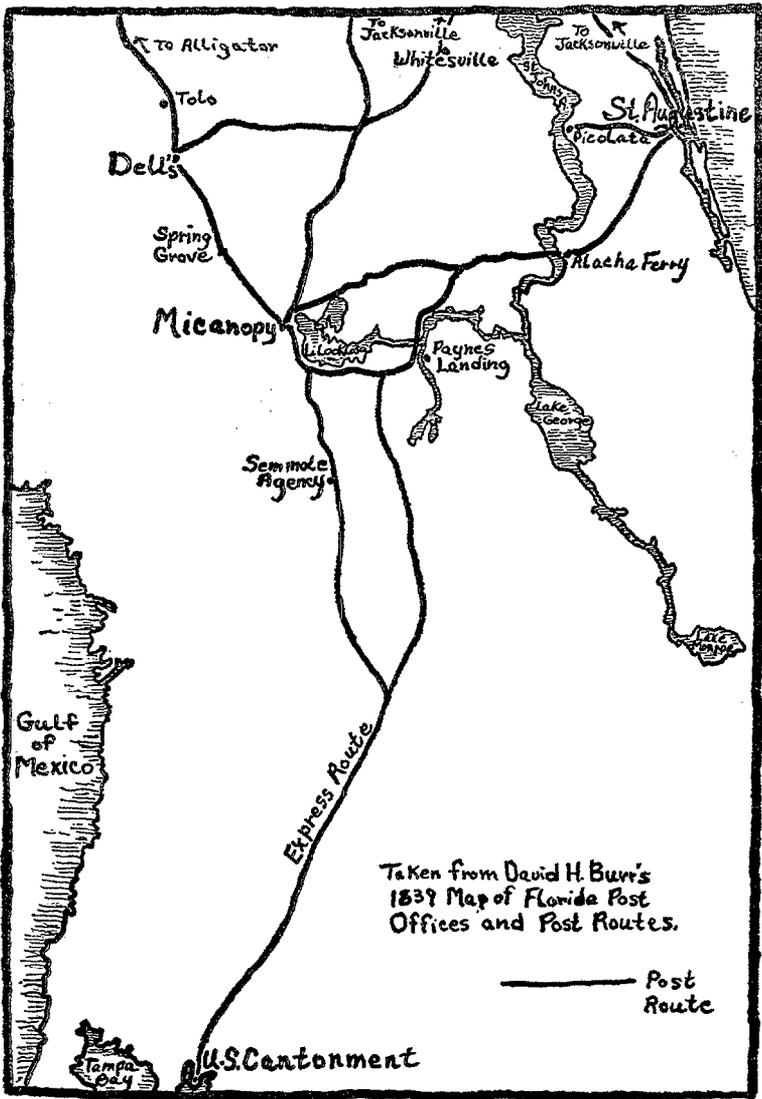


TABLE OF EARLY FLORIDA POST OFFICES, 1821-1830^a

Post office	County	Date of First Return	First Postmaster	Receipts for 1830
Alaqua	Walton	November 5, 1827	C. V. S. Jones	\$37.45
Almirante	Walton	January 31, 1827	Jeremiah Savell	\$15.58
Aspalaga	Jackson	March 22, 1828	Fabian Armstead	\$90.76
Campbellton	Washington	- - - - -	- - - - -	\$6.34
Dells	Alachua	January 1, 1826	James Dell	\$32.31
Escambia	Escambia	May 4, 1827	Radford Cotton	\$10.34
Fernandina	St. Johns	September 22, 1821	Domingo Acosta	\$50.01
Ft. George	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	\$7.29
Holmes Valley	Washington	March 2, 1827	Barylett Barr	\$55.19
Jacksonville	Duval	March 1824 ¹	John L. Doggett	\$184.80
Key West	Monroe	June 25, 1829 ²	Henry Waterhouse	\$47.83
Lipona	Jefferson	November 28, 1828	Achilles Murat	59.88
Magnolia	Leon	November 9, 1827	George Hamlin	\$213.26
Marianna	Jackson	March 14, 1828	John Mackenheimer	\$192.71
Monticello	Leon	May 10, 1826	John G. Robison	\$102.69
Mt. Vernon	Gadsden	March 6, 1828	John McCulloch	\$55.19
Pensacola	Escambia	August 1821 ³	Cary Nicholas	\$1,350.99
Quincy	Gadsden	December 28, 1825	Hector McNeill	\$296.88
Rocky Comfort	Gadsden	November 5, 1827	David Ohilltree	\$105.09
St. Augustine	St. Johns	July 20, 1821	Jonathan Beers	\$817.94
St. Johns	Duval	January 30, 1828	Elisha F. Jenkins	\$22.90
St. Marks	Leon	March 28, 1827	Turbut Betton	\$19.92
Salubrity	Gadsden	April 19, 1828	Joseph McBride	\$31.80
Seminole Agency	Alachua	May 3, 1828	Gad Humphreys	\$109.41
Spring Grove	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	\$5.06
Tallahassee	Leon	April 1825 ⁴	Ambrose Crane	\$1,174.61
Tuscanella	Leon	May 8, 1828	John Parkill	\$46.48

TABLE OF EARLY FLORIDA POST OFFICES, 1821-1830^a

Post Office	County	Date of First Return	First Postmaster	Receipts for 1830
Waukeelah	Jefferson	January 23, 1825	John G. Gamble	\$41.06
Wantons	Alachua	February 6, 1826 ¹	Ruben Charles	\$23.50
Webbville	Jackson	December 31, 1825	Jack M. Stone	\$258.78
Whitesville	Duval	May 8, 1828	Malachia Hagin	\$13.56

^aFound in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 978-82 and *A. S. P., Post Office Dept.*, 296.

¹St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*, February 7, 1824.

²Key West *Register*, June 25, 1829.

³Pensacola *Floridian*, August 18, October 8, 1821.

⁴Pensacola *Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, April 9, 1825.

The Public are informed, that a regular Mail will be continued between this City and St. Marys— It will leave on Thursday mornings and return the following Monday's [*sic*]. Letters intended to go by Mail must be left at the Post Office on Wednesdays.¹⁷

It was signed by acting postmaster Daniel Copp, Beers having not yet arrived in town.¹⁸

Undoubtedly the town's citizenry was delighted to see postmaster Beers commence his duties on August 13.¹⁹ But he soon resigned, and the post office was moved to the residence of Thomas H. Penn, the new postmaster.²⁰ No reason was given for Beer's decision to leave the service, but he probably did so because of the low salary.²¹

Fernandina on the northern tip of Amelia Island was the only other Florida post office to open in 1821. Although it probably had had some system of communication with the mainland earlier, this was its first permanent post office. The initial return of the office was dated September 22, and was signed by postmaster Domingo Acosta.²² It was probably served by the same sea route which passed from St. Marys to St. Augustine.

The opening of these offices and the creation of two primary postal routes did not completely satisfy the residents of the territory, and they were soon voicing their complaints concerning the quality of the mail service they were receiving. Certain St. Augustine citizens disliked having their mail delivered by ship and they expressed their discontent in a memorial to Congress. They described the water route as, "not only unnecessarily circuitous, but in consequence of mail being carried by water, the greater part of the way from St. Marys to St. Augustine, it is in

17. *Ibid.*, 127; St. Augustine *Florida Gazette*, July 28, August 4, 1821. The approximate population of St. Augustine in 1821 was 2,000. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 552, 643.

18. St. Augustine *Florida Gazette*, July 28, August 4, 1821.

19. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 169n.

20. St. Augustine *Florida Gazette*, September 1, 1821.

21. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 102. At this time postmasters did not receive a stipulated salary; their compensation was a percentage of the postage they collected. See section II of the Postal Act of 1816 in *Annals*, 14th Cong., 1st sess., 1809-11. The *Register of Public Officials of East Florida*, February 1, 1822, listed Penn as the postmaster and contained a notification on the resignation of Beers. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 361, 978.

22. *Ibid.*, 197, 978.

boisterous weather and during the prevalence of low tides, subject to detention and exposed to the danger of being lost.²³ The memorial suggested replacement of the route with one which would pass on land from Jefferson, Georgia, through Coleraine and Cowford (Jacksonville) to St. Augustine. Such a route it was believed, would reduce the danger of lost mail and shorten the present route by forty miles.²⁴ Congress authorized the change in May 1822, but it was not until January of the following year that a contract for the new road was let by the post office.²⁵ The contractor, John Floyd, agreed to transport the mail from 1823 to 1826 at an annual compensation of \$1,040.²⁶ The mail rider was to utilize the "Kings Road" which had been built by the British the previous century, but, as might be expected, the age of this highway greatly reduced its value. The section between the Georgia line and Cowford was in especially bad condition.²⁷ A bill ensuring its repair was placed before Congress, but it failed to pass in the Senate in 1823.²⁸ However, the mails needed to be delivered, and so it was utilized by the Post Office in 1824 despite its deplorable state.²⁹

The development of the land route to St. Augustine was instrumental in the authorization of a fourth post office at Jacksonville, whose importance would increase because of its favorable location near the only ford on the St. Johns River for miles in either direction.³⁰ As a way station on the primary road to St. Augustine it shared in the general growth of the territory. Late in 1823 Richard Keith Call, Florida's delegate to Congress, recommended the establishment of a post office.³¹ His request was acknowledged in February 1824, with the appointment of John L. Doggett, a member of the Territorial Legislative Council, as Jacksonville's first postmaster.³²

23. *Ibid.*, 366.

24. *Ibid.*, 366-67.

25. *Annals*, 17th Cong., 1st sess., 2641.

26. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 487, 487n, 767n; *House Documents*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess, no. 104, 17.

27. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 366, 633-35.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *St. Augustine East Florida Herald*, February 7, 1824.

30. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513-1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 54; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 487, 366n.

31. *Ibid.*, XXII, 833.

32. *St. Augustine East Florida Herald*, February 7, 1824.

A post office began operating in 1825 in Tallahassee, the new territorial capital. The previous year Call had asked for and received, in keeping with the government's policy of extending the mails to state and territorial capitals, the passage of a House resolution to study the possibility of opening a post road to Tallahassee from the Creek Agency in Georgia.³³ Indicative of the importance attached to a mail service for Tallahassee was the legislative council's resolution passed in November 1824, requesting Call to stress to Congress the requirement of creating postal routes for the town from the north, south, and west.³⁴ Congress responded in March 1825, by approving a route to connect Tallahassee with the Creek Agency. One month later, Ambrose Crane, co-publisher of the *Florida Intelligencer*, was appointed postmaster.³⁵

The extension of mails to Florida and the establishment of a few internal postal routes by 1825 paved the way for continued postal expansion required by increasing commercial, administrative, and military necessities. The occupation of Tallahassee by territorial officials in April 1825, led to the authorization of a postal route to it from Early Court House, Georgia, and its designation as a terminus of postal routes converging from Pensacola and St. Augustine.³⁶ Sometime later, the northern route was changed to pass by Pindartown, Georgia, because of delays due to flooded roads in wet weather.³⁷ Then increasing demands for better service made a weekly mail on the route a necessity, and this was supplied by the post office in February 1826.³⁸

The continued development of Tallahassee—its population reached 900 in 1830—called for still greater improvements. In 1827, the first regular stage mail began.³⁹ As postal receipts in-

33. *Annals*, 18th Cong., 1664; *House Journal*, 18th Cong., 1st sess., 274.

34. "The First Message of Gov. William P. Duval To the Legislative Council Assembled at Tallahassee, Florida, 1824," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, I (July 1908), 13-17; "Report of The Committee on Territorial Affairs," *Acts of The Legislative Council of The Territory of Florida Passed at The Third Session, 1824*, 319.

35. *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, April 9, 1825.

36. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 242, 625-27.

37. *Ibid.*, 261, 311-12, 334-35, 339, 354, 358; *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, July 9, 1825.

38. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 372, 438. The contractor, David B. Macomb, agreed to transport the mail at \$9.00 per mile.

39. *Ibid.*, 933, 1012-13. Macomb had contracted for the route in 1827 at \$1,440 per year. *House Documents*, 19th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 121, 21.

TABLE OF POSTAL EXPANSION IN FLORIDA TERRITORY, 1837-1845^a

Year Ending July	Length of Post Roads	Annual Miles of Transportation			Cost
		Horse	Stage	Steamboat & Railroad	
1837	1,845	78,312	84,864	44,720	-----
1838	2,764	53,300	84,916	109,304	-----
1839	1,101	70,488	62,648	47,147	\$40,579
1840	1,772	90,688	75,416	99,242	\$44,587
1841	1,817	95,884	75,416	99,242	\$45,879
1842	1,744	94,014	79,567	99,242	\$44,909
1843	1,735	85,174	107,604	77,106	\$44,199
1844	2,410	56,120	162,300	55,624	\$37,884
1845	2,920	96,680	163,894	75,406	\$42,354

^a*Postmaster General's Reports, 1837-1845.*

creased— from \$634.87 in 1827, to \$1,174.00 in 1830— so did the demands for improved communication.⁴⁰ The postmaster general advanced the mail by one day in December 1830, and two years later replaced the two-horse stage with a four-horse conveyance, thus allowing for still faster service.⁴¹ The switch was applauded by the *Floridian* which announced that it would bring the mails two days earlier than before.⁴² A new appointment in the office of the postmaster generalship threatened Tallahassee with cancellation of its four-horse mail in 1838, but the outcry was so general that it never came about.⁴³ In fact, within a year, two additional post routes were scheduled for Tallahassee from Franklinville and Thomasville in Georgia.⁴⁴

The capital and its environs continued to add population, and by 1840 over 10,000 settlers inhabited Leon County.⁴⁵ According to a number of them the postal service had not kept pace with the growth. For instance, it was reported that, “a gentlemen, who

40. *House Documents*, 20th Cong., 1st sess., no. 60, 75; *American State Papers*, *Post Office*, 180, 296; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 369-72.

41. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 487, *American State Papers*, *Post Office*, 329. These improvements were effected under Postmaster General William T. Barry who had replaced John McLean in 1829.

42. Tallahassee *Floridian*, November 20, 1832.

43. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1838; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 543. Amos Kendall replaced the rather inept Barry in July 1838.

44. The contractor on the Franklinville route was Archibald Graham at \$700 a year, while the contractor on the Thomasville run was John White at \$400. *House Documents*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., no. 220, 108-11.

45. “Population Schedules” for the Territory of Florida, Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, sheet 58, microfilm copy, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

addressed a letter, from Washington, D. C., to Tallahassee, will find, that starting on the same day with his letter, he can reach his destination, several days before its arrival."⁴⁶ But this and similar complaints produced no increase in mail efficiency. In fact, postal interruptions and delays became more frequent in stormy weather after a route change in 1841 required the carrier to make two crossings of the Flint River.⁴⁷

The first post offices to commence operation in middle Florida were those at Dills, Robinsons, and Wantons in 1826.⁴⁸ The very next year, however, they were almost discontinued because of the cost involved— receipts were only \$9.93 at Dills, \$2.48 at Robinsons, and \$65.01 at Wantons.⁴⁹ In answer to requests for a weekly schedule to these places, the postmaster general pointed out that the expense of \$3,375 for such a service would be \$1,775 more than all Florida postal receipts for an entire year.⁵⁰ A private post office was created for the Seminole Agency to the south of Wantons in May 1828, and during its first year of operation it produced receipts of \$147.13.⁵¹ Three years later the post office department was able to provide the area with two more postal routes. One was to run from Tallahassee by Lipona, Waukeeah, Dills, Spring Grove, Wantons, and Whitesville to Jacksonville on a bi-weekly schedule, while the other was to pass between Tallahassee and Monticello on a weekly basis.⁵²

Despite these and other improvements in the distribution of mail from Tallahassee, Floridians continued to petition Congress for additional service. One resolution of the legislative council described the postal arrangements, "as in fact, virtually excluding them from the benefits of the Post Office Establishment— depriv-

46. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 234.

47. *Acts and Resolutions of The Legislative Council of The Territory of Florida Passed at Its Twentieth Session, 1842*, 54; *Journal of The Senate of The Legislative Council of The Territory of Florida at Its Sixth Session, 1844*, 96-98, 180, 204; *Acts and Resolutions, Twenty-second Session, 1844*, 82-83; *Appalachicola Commerical Advertiser*, February 19, 1844.

48. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 978-82. The names of Dills, Robinsons, and Wantons were later changed to Dells, Monticello, and Micanopy, respectively.

49. *Ibid.*, 664, 667.

50. *Ibid.*, 734.

51. *House Documents*, 21st Cong., 1st sess., no. 61, 83.

52. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 411-12, 428-30. William H. Williams was the contractor on the Tallahassee-Jacksonville route at \$950, while Thomas Heir was the contractor on the other at \$206. *Ibid.*, 430n; *House Documents*, 21st Cong., 2nd sess., no. 117, 14.

ing them of the facilities of communication, and closing against them the avenues of intelligence, by the wisdom of our Government generally open and free to the people of the United States."⁵³ In response, the postmaster general opened a weekly mail between Tallahassee and Jacksonville utilizing a combination of two routes. One to pass through Alligator and the other by Micanopy.⁵⁴ However, postal deficits in the ensuing years forced the suspension of the arrangement in 1836.⁵⁵ Repeated demands by Tallahassee citizens over the next nine years for a tri-weekly mail to the east failed to bring any improvements, and up to at least 1845, a single horse carried a semi-weekly mail to St. Augustine.⁵⁶

Postal routes connecting gulf coast ports with cotton producing areas were inaugurated in 1827 when, first a private and then a public route, was extended twenty-two miles southwest from Tallahassee to St. Marks.⁵⁷ But it must have been rarely used as illustrated by receipts of just \$2.34 for the year ending March 1829.⁵⁸ By this time the inhabitants of Appalachicola and other western settlements were asking for postal connections.⁵⁹ The postmaster general eventually provided Appalachicola, Magnolia, and Monticello with mail routes between 1831 and 1833.⁶⁰ An-

53. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 965.

54. *Ibid.*, XXV, 35-38 James M. Harris contracted for both routes: Tallahassee-Micanopy-Jacksonville at \$1,115, and Tallahassee-Alligator-Jacksonville at \$1,007. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 175, 15-16.

55. The Tallahassee-Micanopy-Jacksonville route was halted on January 1, 1836. *Senate Documents*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., no. 254, 536-37. Service on the Tallahassee-Alligator route was ordered to stop at Mineral Springs, and the other section of it continuing on to Jacksonville was cancelled in its entirety on October 17, 1836. *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 329, 322-23.

56. *Journal of the Senate of the Territory of Florida, Twenty-first Session, 1843*, 109; *Journal of The Senate of the Territory of Florida, Sixth Session, 1844*, 194 [192]-93.

57. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 943, 1001-02, 1027. It is conceivable that a private mail to St. Marks did exist in late 1827, as a post office opened there sometime prior to March 1827. *Ibid.*, 978-82. Thomas Heir contracted for the official route in 1828 at \$200. *House Documents*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 135, 29.

58. *House Documents*, 21st Cong., 1st sess., no. 61, 82-83.

59. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 108-10, 199-200; *House Journal*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess., 201. Congress later approved a route from Montgomery to Webbville, Florida. 4 *Statutes* 547.

60. 4 *Statutes* 548; *Debates in Congress*, 22nd Cong., 1st sess., app. XIIX; Tallahassee *Floridian and Advocate*, December 7, 1830. Thomas Heir again contracted for the St. Marks route, while J. B. Scott contracted for the Monticello to Magnolia route. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 430n, 724n.

nual receipts were \$246.57 at Magnolia and \$121.84 for St. Marks in 1833; the latter representing a substantial increase in the employment of the mails.⁶¹

In January 1833, a steamboat mail was begun between Columbus, Georgia, and Appalachicola, but so exorbitant was its cost that it was discontinued that June.⁶² However, consequent expansion—receipts rose from \$127.40 in 1833 to \$831.94 in 1835—convinced the postmaster general to let a contract for a semi-weekly mail to the port from Quincy through Rocky Comfort and Fort Gadsden.⁶³ Other mail improvements for the gulf coast in 1835 included a mail every two days by coach from Tallahassee to St. Marks, a similar arrangement from Chattahoochee to Cedar Bluff, and a steamboat mail to travel between Cedar Bluff and Pensacola on the same schedule.⁶⁴ The stage between Tallahassee and St. Marks was part of a postal connection expediting communication between Augusta and Key West, while the second belonged to a system connecting the important gulf cities of Mobile and New Orleans.⁶⁵

Additional progress came in 1837 when a mail was extended to St. Joseph from Appalachicola and when a steamboat connection from the latter to Bainbridge, Georgia, was authorized. The steamboat was to deliver mail twice a week to Appalachicola eight months of the year and once a week for the remainder.⁶⁶ The following notice appeared in a Tallahassee newspaper:

THE subscriber has taken the contract for carrying the United States Mail between Appalachicola, Fla., and Bainbridge, Ga., per Steam Boats, and has selected for that purpose the fast and staunch Steamer Free Trader, which is acknowledged to be one of the fleetest boats on the river.⁶⁷

61. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 1st sess., no. 63, 74-75.

62. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 984-87.

63. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 63, 74-75; 24th Cong., 1st sess., no. 262, 80; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 35-39. John W. Ochiltree was the contractor at \$2,000. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 175, 16.

64. Stockton, Stokes, and Co. was the contractor on the St. Marks route at \$2,057. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 175, 16.

65. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 559-60.

66. The route from Marianna was rejected on a bid of \$7,000. *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 329, 49-50. William Roane contracted for the Appalachicola-St. Joseph route for \$30 per mile. *Senate Documents*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 536-37. The contractor on the steamboat route was James Y. Smith at \$6,000. *House Documents*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., no. 220, 108-11.

67. Tallahassee *Floridian*, July 7, 1838.

The migration to St. Joseph continued, and by 1838 its population stood at around 1,000. The growth eventually led to the construction of a railroad from it to Iola on the Appalachian River. The increased importance of the town was signified when the post office department established a semi-weekly railroad mail on the newly opened road in October 1839.⁶⁸ The nearby port of Appalachicola shared in this general growth, and by December 1840, a tri-weekly stage mail was instituted from it to Pensacola. Appalachicola's emergence as an established cotton export center was signified by postal receipts of \$2,745 in 1840 which was second only to Tallahassee's \$4,238.98.⁶⁹

The development of the gulf coast area extended to Pensacola where the construction of a navy yard and its utilization as a military headquarters served to increase the requirement for more postal facilities. They came in 1826-1827 in the form of a steamboat mail from Mobile and in a land mail from Blakeley, Alabama.⁷⁰ But both were subsequently stopped because of their expense— the latter being reinstated in 1832.⁷¹ Eventually other routes were added, however, and by June 1833, Pensacola was receiving four semi-weekly mails: two by steamboat from the east and two by stage.⁷² The stage mail on the Blakeley run was ultimately raised to three a week in 1835, but Pensacola citizens were dismayed by the steamboat service which was repeatedly being cancelled and renewed by the post office department.⁷³ It was not until 1839 that a regular steamboat mail from Mobile became a reality.⁷⁴

Although all towns in Florida during the territorial period

68. *Biennial Register of All Officers and Agents in the Service of the United States* (Washington, 1838), 191; *St. Joseph Times*, January 22, 1840. Contractor on the route was the St. Joseph Canal and Railroad Co. at \$840. *House Documents*, 27th Cong., 3rd sess., no. 180, 589-90.

69. *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, December 19, 1840. William Childres contracted for the St. Marks route at \$900. *House Documents*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., no. 220, 108-11; *Biennial Register*, 1841, 228-29.

70. 4 *Statutes* 226.

71. *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, March 23, December 28, 1827, July 8, 1828; *Pensacola Argus*, August 12, 1825; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 788n, 892, 922-23, 935, 985-86, XXIV, 373, 790.

72. *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, June 6, 1833.

73. *Ibid.*; *House Documents*, 24th Cong., 1st sess., no. 262, 80; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 364-65.

74. Tallahassee *Floridian*, January 5, 1839; *House Documents*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., no. 220, 108-11; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 559-60.

experienced difficulties in their mail service, none could quite match those faced by Camp Brooke on Tampa Bay. At first the camp was forced to communicate with the war department by any means possible. In time, by 1829, the postmaster general authorized a postal route to the camp from Jacksonville through Wantons and Black Creek, but no contractor was willing to transport the mails over it.⁷⁵ Two years later, a post office was opened at the camp with the mail to be brought in from the Seminole Agency. In this arrangement the army was to pay the expenses if the cost of mails did not.⁷⁶ Army mules were even to be employed to haul the mails over the 126 miles separating the two places.⁷⁷ No sooner had this settlement been made, then it was learned that the office at the Seminole Agency had closed because the agent had tired of making up the cost of letters coming to his office. Thus, the camp was forced to extend its communications line up to Wantons, twenty-six miles further north.⁷⁸

In 1837, Congress authorized the establishment of another public route to pass from St. Augustine to the camp via Wantons. But as in the case of the first it was suspended shortly after it went into operation, and the army again had to fall back on a private mail. This situation continued until 1841, when the postmaster general finally managed to hire a contractor to transport the mails over the route.⁷⁹ Even then it was not known how long the deliveries would last. Finally, by the end of the territorial period, another route was provided to pass from Palatka, by Orange Creek, Fort King, Warm Springs, Fort Dade, and Fort Foster, and the link of communication to the north became more permanent.⁸⁰

The last major section of Florida to be bound to the United States by mail was Key West. Although few people inhabited the island in 1821, the establishment of a naval base and a United States District Court about 1828 necessitated a postal connection.

75. 4 *Statutes*, 320; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 43n.

76. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 628n, 628-29. Private post offices received no financial assistance from the post office department to aid in the cost of transporting the mails. Transportation costs were to be paid out of the postage collected or made up by the postmaster.

77. *Ibid.*, 629n.

78. *Ibid.*, 663, 673-74.

79. *Ibid.*, 673-74; *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 1st sess., no. 63, 75; 27th Cong., 3rd sess., no. 180, 589-90.

80. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 1005-07, 5 *Statutes*, 669.

Shortly thereafter, the postmaster general was able to arrange for certain mails to be brought in on ships coming from Charleston.⁸¹ But it was by no means satisfactory to the territorial governor who desired a route which would aid him in the administration of South Florida. "I assure you," he wrote to Richard Keith Call, "that it is impossible for me to do justice to the Southern part of the Territory without some conveyance to transmit the laws, commissions, and orders."⁸² A post office must have opened at Key West in 1829, as illustrated by postage receipts of \$47.83 for that year, but no official route was in evidence. Communications were so intermittent as to make business difficult for local citizens. "Orders affecting our rights and interests," they cried out, "are issued by the functionaries of the General and Territorial Governments of which we are totally ignorant, until the time of benefiting by the priviledges [*sic*] offered, or avoiding the evils threatened has past [*sic*] by - "⁸³

These and other complaints for regular contact with the outside world at last prodded Congress to authorize a land route to the island from St. Augustine in 1832. But as the prescribed route was unfeasible, the postmaster general opened a monthly packet service from Charleston in its place.⁸⁴ Another packet on the same schedule began operation in 1835 from St. Marks via Tampa Bay to Key West.⁸⁵ During the remainder of the territorial stage the mail service to the island progressively improved as additional sea and land routes were inaugurated by the post office department.⁸⁶

By 1845, the majority of Floridians had achieved a substantial measure of postal communication with the rest of the nation. Tallahassee was serviced by a four-horse coach mail from the north, commercial ports along the gulf were connected to interior cotton producing areas, military camps and posts were placed in contact with one another as well as with Tallahassee and Wash-

81. *Key West Advocate*, March 14, 1829.

82. *Key West Register*, April 2, 1829.

83. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 626.

84. *Key West Gazette*, August 1, 1832; 4 *Statutes* 548; *Debates in Congress*, 22nd Cong., 1st sess., app. XXIX.

85. William McKeen was the contractor on the route at \$1,500. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 175, 16; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 35-39.

86. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 333n; *House Documents*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., no. 220, 108-11; *Biennial Register* 1841, 228.

ington, D. C., and Key West, strategically located in terms of commerce and defense, had postal links with several mainland towns. But this had only been accomplished at a considerable expense to the government as the amount of postal business was never enough, after the first year, to cover the cost of service. As more and more offices and routes became operative-post roads rose from 121 miles in 1821 to 2,920 in 1845— costs accelerated.⁸⁷ Thus by 1841, it was costing the department \$45,879 to supply Florida with an effective mail service while revenue totalled only \$17,649.52.⁸⁸

87. *House Documents*, 18th Cong., 1st sess., no. 151, 2; *Postmaster General's Report*, 1845, 862-63.

88. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 1st sess., no. 505, 5-6; *Biennial Register*, 1841, 228-29; *Postmaster General's Report*, 1841, 481.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC POWER STRUCTURE IN DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA, DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

by C. A. HAULMAN*

AMERICA'S TURBULENT DECADE of the 1860s brought dramatic changes to the South. Destruction of property was overwhelming, the collapse of the southern monetary and credit system was complete, and the large capital investment in slaves disappeared.¹ In Florida, invasions of the coastal areas, raids into the thinly-settled interior, and disruption of the economy caused a percentage decline in property values greater even than that suffered by war-torn Virginia.² This intense upheaval of the war period was followed by the complexities of the Reconstruction experience. Earlier interpretations of Reconstruction generally pictured a prostrate South where, according to Vernon L. Wharton, "the villains were carpetbaggers, scalawags (usually unidentified), and a great faceless mass of ignorant, barbarous, and often ridiculous Negroes (and) the southern heroes were the whites who had suffered indignities with bravery and patience and who finally, with northern support, had overcome the rabble and

* Mr. Haulman is associate professor of economics, College of William and Mary. This is a revision of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, Jacksonville, May 12, 1972. The author acknowledges the aid of Taylor Cousins and Charles Cullen.

1. Of the total assessed property valuation of \$4,363,000,000 in the eleven seceded states in 1860, \$1,603,000,000 was estimated to remain by the end of the war. The emancipation of slaves accounted for \$1,634,000,000 of the decrease in valuation, with the remaining decline resulting from losses or reduced values. When changes in the value of currency are accounted for, "at the end of the war decade the wealth of the South was decreased 30 per cent, and to recover the evaluation of 1860 would require an increase of 43 per cent upon the amount of wealth reported in 1870." See James L. Sellers, "The Economic Incidence of the Civil War in the South" in Ralph Andreano, ed., *Economic Impact of the American Civil War* (Cambridge, 1967), 100-01.
2. Rembert W. Patrick, *Reconstruction of the Nation* (New York, 1967), 4. Joe M. Richardson, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 5. According to Richardson, "Disruption of the economy was more responsible for the decline in property values than was destruction of war."

restored the rule of virtue, intelligence and property."³ The more recent revisionist approach to Reconstruction has expanded the basic information concerning the period and reinterpreted the events of Reconstruction.⁴ The revisionists have generally found that the Reconstruction experience was much more beneficial and less disruptive than the earlier studies indicated. For example, according to Joe M. Richardson, in Florida,

No man's rights of person were invaded under the guise of the law, the Democrat's life, property, and business were safe, his path to the ballot box was not obstructed by force, no one attempted to interfere with his freedom of speech, nor was he boycotted because of his political principles. The Negro was more able and less venal than charged. Republicans made significant contributions to the State including public education, a more democratic government, creation of public institutions, rights for Negroes, and an improved financial structure. Taxation was not unreasonable, the state debt was not excessive, and corruption of the period has been exaggerated.⁵

While substantial support for the revisionist interpretation of political Reconstruction has appeared, very little evidence has been presented concerning the economic questions regarding just what immediate and lasting influences Reconstruction exerted upon the southern economy.⁶ Did carpetbaggers and scoundrels gain substantial economic control during the years following the war, or did those who were in control economically in

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3. Vernon L. Wharton, "Reconstruction," in Arthur S. Link and R. W. Patrick, eds., *Writing Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1965), 307-08. See works of the Dunning school, such as William A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic 1865-1877* (New York, 1907); Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905); and William W. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964). See also E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947).
 4. For a basic revisionist view, see Kenneth M. Stampp, *Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York, 1965); Patrick, *Reconstruction*; and James G. Randall and David Donald, *Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1961). Revisionist interpretations of Reconstruction in Florida include, Merlin G. Cox, "Military Reconstruction in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVI (January 1968), 219-33; Jerrell H. Shofner, "Political Reconstruction in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLV (October 1966), 145-70; and Richardson, *Negro in Reconstruction*.
 5. Richardson, *Negro in Reconstruction*, 223.
 6. A critique of revisionism appears in Fletcher M. Green's introduction to the facsimile of William W. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (Gainesville, 1964).

1860 remain in power during Reconstruction? Further, to the extent that changes in the economic power structure did or did not occur, what was the impact upon southern economic growth of the Reconstruction experience? This study attempts to provide a methodology for viewing the impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction upon the economic power structure of the South and presents the results of such a study for Duval County Florida. While the experience of one county does not furnish a complete picture of the economic effects of the period upon the South, it provides a test of the methodology presented and supplies additional economic information concerning the revisionist controversy surrounding Reconstruction.

To determine the extent to which changes in the economic power structure occurred this study considers changes in wealth holdings between 1860 and 1870.⁷ Although scholars have attacked the rich planter-poor white stereotype of antebellum society,⁸ more recent evidence indicates that not only was wealth unequally distributed by 1860 in a number of southern and western cities and rural counties, but that a substantial degree of mal-distribution existed earlier in the nineteenth century.⁹ This evidence does not deny the existence of an important middle class yeomanry; it does, however, indicate that a relatively small group of individuals held tremendous economic influence in the South by the time of the Civil War. Changes in wealth holdings,

7. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860* (Washington, 1862); *Ninth Census of the United States: 1870* (Washington, 1872).

8. The work of the "Owsley School" is the center of the effort to overturn the idea of a completely aristocratic society in the antebellum South. See Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (February 1940), 24-26; Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1950); B. H. Clark, *Tennessee Yeoman, 1840-1860* (Nashville, 1942); Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1939). For early criticism of the Owsley approach see Fabian Linden, "Economic Democracy in the Slave South," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXI (April 1946), 140-89, and review of Owsley's *Plain Folk of the Old South*, by Ruppert Vance, in *Journal of Southern History*, XVI (November 1950), 545-47.

9. See Robert Gallman, "Trends in the Size Distribution of Wealth in the Nineteenth Century," in Lee Soltow, ed., *Six Papers on the Size Distribution of Wealth and Income* (New York, 1969); Edward Pessen, "The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility, and Equality in the Era of the Common Man," *American Historical Review*, 76 (October 1971), 989-1034; and Lee Soltow, "Economic Inequality in the United States in the Period from 1790-1860," *Journal of Economic History*, 31 (December 1971), 822-39.

therefore, will be determined by use of data relating to the very wealthy.¹⁰ A sample, composed of all individuals and their dependents holding substantial wealth in the Duval County area, was taken from both the manuscript census of 1860 and 1870, and the samples were compared to determine whether those considered rich in 1860 were among those listed as holding substantial wealth in 1870. The extent to which the composition of the samples changed indicates changes in wealth holdings and thus in the economic power structure of the area being studied.

Use of the manuscript censuses as historical sources can be traced to Gustavus Dyer and Ulrich Phillips at about the turn of the twentieth century.¹¹ Subsequently, much more extensive uses of these sources were made by the "Owsley School," Barnes Lathrop and, more recently, by Robert Gallman and Lee Soltow.¹² While the manuscript census reports provide a wealth of information, they are not without serious problems. For this study, the most important problem is the validity of the wealth information of the manuscripts. Although in the South the 1860 census is generally considered quite complete and accurate, the 1870 census has been subject to criticism on grounds of incomplete reporting and biased or underestimated values of real and personal estate.¹³ If, however, the incomplete and biased reporting has a relatively consistent nature, it is possible to obtain meaningful results from the 1870 manuscripts. Therefore, the assumption of relatively consistent underreporting and underestimation of wealth information in the 1870 census will be made.¹⁴

A second methodological problem involves choosing a popula-

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10. This study equates the very wealthy with the economic power structure of the area. Such an assumption is made because it is likely that those individuals holding substantial wealth are the same ones who make or influence the decisions which affect the local economy and because the necessary wealth data are readily available from manuscript census.
 11. Gustavus W. Dyer, *Democracy in the South Before the Civil War* (Nashville, 1906); Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts," *American Historical Review*, XI (July 1906), 798-816.
 12. Barnes F. Lathrop, "History From the Census Returns," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LI (April 1948), 293-312; Barnes F. Lathrop, *Migrations into East Texas 1835-1860: A Study From the United States Census* (Austin, 1949).
 13. See Gallman, "Trends in Size Distribution," appendix; Lathrop, "History From the Census," 304; Carroll D. Wright and William C. Hunt, *History and Growth of the United States Census* (Washington, 1900); and *Ninth Census: 1870, III, Taxation and Wealth*, introduction.
 14. This assumption is the weakest point of the methodology but without it any study is impossible.

tion base against which to compare the rich and considering the role of the freedmen in such a decision. Prior to emancipation, slaves were considered property and were not in a position to be considered as potential wealth holders. By 1870, their position had changed, but few freedmen had the opportunity to gain wealth. Thus if the rich as a percentage of all potential wealth holders in both 1860 and 1870 is considered, the base will be distorted by emancipation. Because of the base problem and because family wealth rather than individual wealth appears to be a more meaningful measure of economic power, this study considers the rich relative only to the number of white families in the area studied.¹⁵

A final problem concerns the question of what to consider as substantial wealth. Because of the general decline in wealth in the South and the depreciation of the currency following the Civil War, it is difficult to fix a specific dollar value of wealth holdings as a criterion for considering families as rich. This study, therefore, considers the top five per cent of white families as the rich. Based upon Gallman's finding, that for the nation in 1860 the top five per cent of families held fifty-four per cent of personal wealth, such a criterion should isolate the major wealth holders in an area and thus provide an excellent picture of the area's economic power structure.¹⁶

Changes in the families which compose the samples of the richest five per cent of white families from the 1860 and 1870 manuscript censuses thus reveal a measure of the change in the economic power structure. In addition, where changes in the economic power structure have occurred, the census includes information on the origin of the newcomers to the power structure through individual place of birth data. When the new wealth holders have children, it is possible to obtain a more complete picture of the families' migration pattern.¹⁷ This information indicates whether the new wealth holders were merely local families who moved up the wealth structure during the decade, whether they were families from other parts of the same state or

15. Gallman, "Trends in Size Distribution," 19-20.

16. *Ibid.*, 6.

17. While place of birth information has a number of shortcomings it is the only readily available data on the origin of the new wealth holders.

other southern states moving to gain an advantage from the situation, or whether they were from the North.

Duval County is considered important because of its war and post-war experience. Jacksonville was occupied four times during the war. The effects of the consequent disruption— including the burning of an important area of the city during the evacuation following the third occupation— were significant.¹⁸ A census comparison (summarized in Table I) indicates, however, the destruction and disruption of the war years were far behind by the time of the 1870 census. Duval County's population grew dramatically during the 1860s, the most important development being the 211 per cent increase in the black population.¹⁹ More important were the economic changes during this period. Despite the war, total wealth increased 18.8 per cent in Duval County between 1860 and 1870, and the area became the state's most important economic center, contributing 40.1 per cent of the value of products produced in Florida, 24.9 per cent of the state's capital value, and 26.8 per cent of the employed.²⁰

The data contained in these and later census reports indicate that the latter part of the 1860s and the decade of the 1870s provided the basis for Duval County's development into the major area of Florida's growth. The method of census comparison, particularly comparison of changes in the economic power structure during the 1860s, reveals the role the county's power structure played in this development.

To establish a background for viewing changes in the economic power structure during the 1860s, changes during the previous decade are considered by sampling the top five per cent of wealth holders from the 1850 and 1860 Censuses. (Table II presents a summary of the results) Of the twenty-nine heads of households considered rich in 1860, nine can be traced to in-

18. For a description of the war experience, see T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity 1513 to 1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 116-37. Conditions in Jacksonville at the end of the war are described in Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 149-50.

19. Some of this large increase in population was probably temporary because Jacksonville was a center of the military occupation of Florida until 1869 and thus provided an attraction for freedmen.

20. These economic data may overstate Duval County's position because the census returns can be expected to be more accurate in this more heavily pro-Union and earlier occupied area than in most of the state's other

TABLE I
Population and Economic Changes in Duval County

<i>Population</i>						
Year	White	Free Colored	Slave	Total	Change in Total	
1850	2338	95	2106	4539		
1860	2925	162	1987	5074	11.7%	
1870	5141	6780	-----	11,921	134.9%	
<i>Wealth</i>						
Year	Real Estate	Personal Estate	Total Estate	Change in Total		
1860	\$ 937,265	\$1,901,990	\$2,839,255			
1878	\$2,612,245	\$ 761,404	\$3,373,649	18.8%		
<i>White Families¹</i>						
Year	Number			Five Per cent		
1850	442			22		
1860	561			28		
1870	1078			54		
<i>Economic</i>						
Year	Hands Employed Number Per cent of State	Capital Value Per cent of State	Products Value Per cent of State			
1850	64	6.5	\$ 49,000	9.0	\$ 114,500	17.1
1860	214	8.7	\$120,100	6.4	\$ 356,100	14.5
1870	739	26.8	\$419,450	24.9	\$1,883,225	40.1

Sources: Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Census.

¹Based upon average persons per family for Florida. 1850, 5.29; 1860, 5.21; 1870, 4.77.

TABLE II
Major Wealth Holders in Duval County
1850, 1860, and 1870

Richest Five Per cent of White Families			
Year	Number	Value of Estate	Per cent of Total
1850	21	\$ 322,000	—
1860	29	\$1,192,700	42.0
1870	54	\$1,875,300	55.5

Sources: Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Census.

dividuals or families who were rich in 1850, and another twelve to individuals or families who resided in the county in 1850 but who were not identified as rich.²¹ Of the remaining eight, four came from other places in Florida, three from northern states, and one not reported. Apparently there was a major reordering of Duval County's economic power structure during the 1850s.²² It resulted mainly from an upward mobility, however, and because of the continued local dominance of the economic power structure, it probably had little impact upon the nature or direction of economic change.²³

A similar comparison of the top five per cent of wealth holders for the period 1860-1870 reveals a number of results. Only thirteen of the twenty-nine heads of households considered rich in 1860 maintained this position in 1870. Eleven more of the 1870 rich can be traced to individuals or families who were residents of the county in 1860, but who were not included among the rich. Thus of the fifty-four heads of households labelled rich in 1870, only twenty-four were residents or descendants of area residents in 1860. Of the remaining thirty, place of birth information indicates that four came from other parts of Florida, three from other southern states, two from border states, two from foreign countries, and nineteen from northern states. In addition, eight of the nineteen new wealth holders from the North were there during or just after the Civil War according to their children's place of birth. Duval's economic power structure therefore appears to have been substantially reordered during the 1860s with most of the change stemming from the movement of new wealth holders into the county, mainly from the North. This experience was different from the 1850s.

Data on the enumerated occupations of the top wealth holders in Duval County indicate that a movement toward a commercial orientation for these wealth holders was developing during the 1850s. (Table III) Not until the 1860s, however, did the business interest become dominant. The new orientation was mainly a result of the thirty newcomers among the major wealth holders, fourteen of whom were listed as businessmen and ten whose oc-

21. From a search of the manuscript census.

22. From census place of birth information of the individual or his children.

23. Of the twenty-one heads of households considered rich in 1850, nine remained among the rich in 1860, and five remained in the area but were no longer considered rich.

TABLE III
Occupation of Major Wealth Holders in Duval County
1850, 1860, and 1870

Year	Occupation	Number
1850	Planter-farmer	13
	Merchant-businessman	4
	Professional	2
	Unreported	2
1860	Planter-farmer	11
	Merchant-businessman	10
	Professional	3
	Gentleman	3
	Unreported	2
1870	Farmer	8
	Merchant-businessman	22
	Professional	9
	Other	3
	Unreported	12

Sources: Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Census.

cupations were not reported. In addition, because of the business orientation of the new rich, it is likely that the change in the economic power structure brought about by the newcomers contributed significantly to the recovery of Duval's economy after the Civil War and its emergence as Florida's leading economic area in 1870.

The long-term effects of the change in the economic power structure are not as clear, however. While four of the newcomers are mentioned by Davis as contributing significantly to the area after 1870,²⁴ no mention can be found of the majority, and several appear to have left Duval County soon after 1870.²⁵ Thus little can be determined about the long-term impact of the change in the economic power structure during the 1860s except that the rapid recovery of the late 1860s provided a stronger economic base for future development.

24. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, mentions Baya, 364; Bostwick, 191, 302; Brock, 363; and Hubbard, 480.

25. One is Franklin Dibble, a banker whose bank Davis found no record of after 1870. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 478. Others include Cheney and Dockray mentioned as carpetbaggers by Wallace. John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 129. Jacksonville Alderman Friedenberg and Requa are also mentioned in Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 295.

Census comparison is a valuable method of studying the impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction upon the economic power structure of the South, especially when viewed as a test of the revisionist interpretation of the period. When the procedure is applied to the experience of Duval County, the results indicate that less than half of those considered rich in 1860 maintained their position at the end of the decade, and that the top of the 1870 wealth structure was dominated by newcomers to the county, almost two-thirds of whom came into the area from the North. It thus appears that those who were in control economically in 1860 did not remain in power during Reconstruction. The affluent newcomers were more commercially oriented than older wealth holders, and, very likely, their presence contributed to the rapid economic recovery of the area after the war. Also, while no case for the lasting impact of the change in the economic power structure can be made from the data, the rapid economic recovery of the late 1860's probably had a positive influence on the long-term development of the area.

Newcomers to Duval County's economic power structure during the 1860s thus appear to have made a positive contribution, and the picture of a prostrate South being exploited by carpetbaggers and scalawags does not appear to have been the case here. Yet while this preliminary study generally supports a revisionist interpretation of Reconstruction in Duval County, a number of important questions remain. To what degree is the county representative of the experience of Florida and the South during the decade? Further, what was the source of the wealth held by these rich newcomers? Was it largely local wealth which changed hands, new wealth created in the years following the war, or new money brought into the area after the war? Finally, what was the long-term economic impact of the change in the economic power structure during the 1860s? Only further study using census comparison combined with the development of other techniques to utilize additional information from tax and other local records will provide answers to these questions.

BOOK REVIEWS

River of the Golden Ibis. By Gloria Jahoda. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973. xxi, 408 pp. Foreword, prologue, bibliography, index. \$10.95.)

“The Hillsborough begins in the Green Swamp, nine hundred miles of central Florida wilderness where white ibises drift in the shallows over willow-bordered pools. . . . The stillness is broken by the songs of Carolina wrens in the thickets, by the insistent voices of leopard frogs, by the calling of rain crows on slow summer afternoons. . . . Pileated woodpeckers rap high in the pines in the drier places, where the ground rises a foot or two and bare sand shows under the pinestraw that glistens rusty in a fitful swampland sun.”

Lyric writing such as this is more poetry than prose, an art form rarely seen any more. To find it in a book about a river one has only seen from highway bridges as a poisoned and half dying stream, flowing for almost half its course through the major industrial and seaport city of Tampa and its environs, is like finding an orchid blooming in the ageless ice of a glacier. You revel in the music of flowing words and your throat tightens at their beauty. This is a book about beauty and history— about people, too, but they are the scavengers, the despoilers who, no matter how romantic and exciting their story, always end up as the villains who attack, and too often destroy, the loveliness of nature.

In the half land, half water, paradise of the Green Swamp, whose story this book is all about, neither primitive people nor the animals were the destroyers. They took only what was needed to live. Neither was the turtle, whose fossil skeleton announced its presence as the oldest of Florida’s living things— 120,000,000 years ago— a destroyer, or even the Paleo-Indians, whose legends still spoke of crossing a great ice bridge far to the northwest, did not harm the land or the river, when they came to the land of flowers more than 10,000 years ago. Their stories are here, as are the tragic sagas of the Seminoles and the more exciting but destructive tales of rivalry for the ground encompassing the great bay into which the river pours. Fortunes were made, in land and

the products of the land, dedicated to the name of progress and therefore inevitable, yet inevitably destructive. Here is the entire story of a rich and fertile region, the rise and fall of empire and industry, the fortunes of war, and the men who made fortunes and lost them, sometimes along with their lives.

More than anything else, however, *River of The Golden Ibis* is a word picture, as vivid and as real as any painting on canvas, perhaps even more so, for the author can look into the souls of the people who love it and reveal its meaning to them. Here, in the Green Swamp, is one of the last strongholds of natural beauty in Florida, perhaps in the world. The next century may see canals, dams, bulldozers, and giant road-building machines move inexorably to destroy it. But for this moment in time, and for moments past through millions of years, the author has captured a picture of rare beauty in nature and furnished an inspiration for those who dare to fight that it may be preserved from destruction.

Jacksonville, Florida

FRANK G. SLAUGHTER

Tales of Old Brevard. By Georgiana Kjerulff. (Melbourne: South Brevard Historical Society, 1972. ii, 216 pp. Illustrations, index, bibliography. \$3.95.)

Interesting historical books are written with enthusiasm, and this is one. Mrs. Kjerulff, with a journalism degree from Louisiana State University, began working as a feature writer for the *Melbourne Daily Times* in the mid 1960s. Some of her assignments on historical subjects whetted her appetite for more, and she soon began writing a popular column under the heading which later became the title of this book. She spent more than three years interviewing old timers and researching private and public records— and you can tell by her breezy, readable style that she enjoyed every minute of it.

While the first three chapters are devoted to the geology of the area, the primitive Indians, Spanish, French, and English settlements, ill-fated missionary attempts by the Franciscans, and the Second Seminole War in Brevard, she soon gets into her theme of tracing the beginnings of Melbourne, Eau Gallie, Titus-

ville, Cocoa— today's "Missile Country" around Cape Canaveral whence men take off for space journeys in our time.

She writes of the Indian River as a trade route where schooners and sternwheelers plied before they were put out of business by Henry Flagler's railroad which reached Melbourne in 1894. The railroad station soon became a social center and "meeting the train" a ritual in these early towns. "Youngsters learned to listen to the whistle code, and dreamed of the day when they could be a big important man like the conductor with his very own life-long ticket punch and his railroad watch."

She tells of the early settlers and what brought them to the area, their struggles, successes, and disappointments. This is a book about people, their ambitions and dreams, the disasters they survived like the great freezes of 1894-1895 that practically destroyed the orange industry, and the collapse of the fantastic boom of the twenties with the great hurricane of 1926. There are anecdotes of early lighthouse-keepers, bootlegging days, pirates, and treasure hunting. We are given an insight into the lumbering operations which cut the virgin forests of longleaf yellow pine and giant cypresses.

Mrs. Kjerulff has done an admirable job of recapturing the flavor and spirit of the old Indian River country in some two dozen interviews with old timers, carrying the reader back to a simpler, happy time when "we were jest one big family along the river."

She writes beautifully and sensitively of a natural Florida hammock which has been preserved. "The first gift you receive when you enter the Erna Nixon Hammock of Melbourne Village is silence. This is a rare gift in today's noisy world of rumbling missiles and sound-shattering jets. The silence washes over you in this world of green, of filtered sunshine and shade. . . . The Melbourne Villagers love the hammock as a retreat and as an outdoor church, if you think of a church as a place to thing on God and His wonder, a spot to meditate, a place to seek solace, to look for an understanding of life."

The book includes a large number of historical photographs from the collection of Sterling Hawks, Melbourne, several interesting historical maps, and drawings by Katherine McLamb. *Tales of Old Brevard* is a genuine contribution to Floridiana,

the more so because area historical books help supply "new roots" to our burgeoning population of transplants who left their own back in some other state. It is recommended reading for today's condominium dwellers in their concrete towers to show them how the early settlers built palmetto shacks, then houses of drift boards, and finally with real lumber from a mill. Mrs. Kjerulff tells how they fought clouds of mosquitoes with smudge pots and palmetto switches, struggled to clear the land, plant pineapple patches and orange groves, and built the Florida we enjoy today.

Stuart, Florida

ERNEST LYONS

Hunted Like a Wolf: The Story of the Seminole War. By Milton Meltzer. (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972. 216 pp. Illustrations, map, bibliography, index. \$5.50.)

This book relates the account of the Seminole Indians who either were deceived into signing a treaty by which they surrendered Florida or foolishly did so, and when they balked at obeying the terms of the treaty were "hunted down like wolves." The book is well-written and traces the story of the Seminoles from their earlier life in Georgia and Alabama to the end of the 1850 outbreak.

At first during the Second Seminole War the whites tried to defeat the Indians in battle and to force them into surrender. This tactic failed when the Indians retreated into the lowlands or scattered into smaller bands. Next, the military tried the tactic of parleying with them and capturing them when they would not surrender. This method resulted in the seizure of many leading Seminoles including Osceola. Next, some leaders and relatives of leaders were captured and threatened with death if they did not persuade others to surrender. Finally, bloodhounds and friendly Indians from other tribes were brought in to track down the Seminoles.

The story of Coacoochee (Wildcat) who escaped from captivity in Fort Marion at St. Augustine and was recaptured under a flag of truce is recalled. He and his men were brought to Tampa, and they were marched aboard the ship which would

carry them to Oklahoma via New Orleans. The Seminoles, bound as they were, could hardly walk, and they hung their heads in silence. Colonel Worth told the Indians that he was their friend. Coacoochee replied: "The white man said he was my friend; he abused our women and children and told us to go from the land. Still he gave me his hand in friendship; we took it; while taking it he had a snake in the other." The white man tried every trick that he knew to remove the Indians from Florida, but 100 or more Seminoles were able to evade him, and their descendants live in Florida today.

University of Tampa

JAMES W. COVINGTON

Florida's Promoters: The Men Who Made It Big. By Charles E. Harner. (Tampa: Trend House, 1973. 72 pp. Introduction, illustrations, index. \$7.95.)

"Until Man came along and fixed it up, Florida was no place to live. These are stories of eight men and a woman who did most of the fixing." Thus begins Charles E. Harner's saga of the "Big Promoters." Mr. Harner, associate editor of *Florida Trend* (where these sketches originally appeared in series), has an affinity for the people he writes about. Eschewing the scholarly encombrances of bibliography and footnotes, he recounts the exploits of the Promoters with literary hyperbole befitting his subjects. He gives them credit for forging development of the state through conscious effort, and, while he readily admits the personal and business failings of his protagonists, he makes only the slightest mention of the sometimes profound opposition engendered by the operations of the Promoters. Since the Independent movement of the 1880s there have been those who did not share the Promoters' vision of a road to prosperity paved with iron rails, asphalt, or binder money. The result is a book which is less than balanced history, but it makes for enjoyable reading.

The opening chapters are devoted to three Gilded Age figures who have secured prominent niches in the pantheon of state developers: Hamilton Disston, Henry B. Plant, and Henry M. Flagler. Added to this well-known triumvirate is Bion Hall Barnett, who started banking operations with his father in Jack-

sonville in 1877, and who guided the growth of the Barnett system of banks the next seventy-three years. The lone woman among the Promoters is Mrs. Bertha Palmer, wife of Chicago real estate and hotel millionaire Potter Palmer, who brought money and national attention to Sarasota in the second decade of the twentieth century. The rest of the book is devoted to four men associated with the 1920s Boom period: D. P. Davis, Barron Collier, Carl Graham Fisher, and George E. Merrick. The photographs on these pages— of William Jennings Bryan touting real estate at the Venetian Pool and imported Italian gondoliers poling along freshly dug canals— capture with particular vividness the atmosphere of the heyday of Florida's developers.

Yet Mr. Harner's book reminds us that the spirit of the Promoter still thrives in the land; a salient theme in the Sunshine State, past and present.

Flagler College

THOMAS S. GRAHAM

Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713. By Richard S. Dunn. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1972. xx, 359 pp. Preface, tables, abbreviations, illustrations, index. \$11.95.)

The formative period of British West Indian history is currently enjoying a renaissance. Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh recently published a delightful survey, *The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690*, and now Professor Richard Dunn of the University of Pennsylvania unveils a scholarly analysis of the smallest but most important social element in the islands. Adhering strictly to "The Rise of the Planter Class," Dunn develops in great detail the tribulations and triumph of the West Indian sugar nabobs. By restricting his political narrative, he is able to provide significant quantitative evaluations, and, following a popular academic pursuit in which he has already made interesting contributions, Professor Dunn offers comparisons between West Indian, New England, and old English socio-economic patterns that are fascinating and instructive.

The adoption of sugar culture in Barbados and the Leewards, and its rapid transference to Jamaica, determined the structure of life in the islands. Sugar meant economic viability; sugar meant large estates and the elimination of small landholders; sugar required a large unskilled labor force, and that meant African slavery. By careful use of the extant records (seldom very satisfactory for the purposes of a quantitative historian), Dunn demonstrates the growth and fluctuations of all these factors. He is more cautious in his use of contemporary documents than many of his predecessors, and his line of argument is thereby the more persuasive.

Cold figures are fleshed with human documentation as Dunn looks at the lives of the planters. His portrait of them is not flattering, and he reminds his reader that the islands were, at this stage, a frontier region in which life was very hard— and often very short— for all. The successful rise of the planter class seems to owe more to the innate economic virtue of sugar itself than to the drive of the planters or their hard-driven slaves. Not only does Dunn dispel any romantic aura which might be thought to surround the planter class, he is unemotionally hard-headed when dealing with the Negro population. Again, his realistic evaluation of slave usage and mis-usage is compelling.

Finally, particular attention and credit must be given to Dunn's comparative passages. A student of colonial New England in his own right, he draws upon studies of Virginia and Carolina to emphasize the varieties of British colonial development and, in the case of Carolina, to demonstrate the contribution of the West Indian colonies to the development of the continental plantations. Dunn's keen awareness of the possibilities of comparative history provides many surprises and much light.

Sugar and Slaves is a welcome addition to the new literature of West Indian history. It will appeal to all students of the seventeenth century Caribbean and the emerging British Empire.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume Three: Jan. 1, 1759- Aug. 31, 1763. Edited by Philip M. Hamer and George C. Rogers,

Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972. xxv, 599 pp. Introduction, appendix, index. \$17.95.)

This, the third volume of the *Papers of Henry Laurens*, publishes those documents illustrative of the merchant's life and business during the Seven Years War. The work continues the high editorial standards of the preceding volumes. The editors are to be congratulated for their unearthing new Laurens correspondence in the letterbook of Holsworth, Olive & Newman Co. Another example of the thorough way in which they have handled a problem of a lost Laurens's newspaper essay is to be found on pp. 270-272. In this case Laurens wrote a piece in Robert Wells's *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* of March 2, 1763. The newspaper has long since disappeared. Nonplussed, the editors went to his opponent's reply in an essay by Christopher Gadsden and paraphrased Laurens's work as closely as possible.

This "lost" piece was on the Cherokee War, and the volume contains another unpublished essay in answer to Gadsden's newspaper writings which were critical of the British, and particularly, Lieutenant Colonel James Grant's conduct of the war. In spite of the good research, the introduction on this point, perhaps because of the necessity of brevity, leaves much to be desired. It is doubtful that Colonel Montgomery and Grant defeated the Cherokee and settled the Indian problem. Weren't the Cherokees soundly beaten by Andrew Williamson in 1776? Few South Carolinians, with the exception of Laurens, were pleased with the results of 1762, and it sowed distrust of British authority in the province.

The letters reveal the rise to wealth and prominence of businessman Laurens. He quickly took advantage of British success in the Seven Years' War and was among the first merchants to begin trade in the new areas. He purchased new town sections in Charles Town and plantation land in South Carolina. In addition, evincing interest in the newly-acquired East Florida, he and other South Carolinians began a land rush into the Altamaha region, even though it was even then debatable that the territory was a part of East Florida. Subsequently it belonged to Georgia. In spite of Laurens's property which seemed so tied to British fortunes, he indicates no signs of any future loyalism. In the

heated Boone Controversy, he sided with the provincials' position, though he took umbrage at their methods.

This is a rich volume done under the burden of the death of Dr. Philip May Hamer who began the project and who was greatly admired for his many contributions to history and beloved by all of his colleagues.

Georgetown University

RICHARD WALSH

The British Occupation of Charleston, 1780-82. By George Smith McCowen, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972. xi, 169 pp. Preface, appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$9.95.)

During the Revolution Britain at one time or another occupied almost every American city. Charleston was under British dominion from May 1780 until December 1782, and Professor McCowen's work, South Carolina Tricentennial Study Number 5, topically analyzes the period of British occupation. His treatment of fluctuating political allegiances, economic policies, Negroes, the Board of Police, social life, and the final evacuation illustrate much of the frustration, patriotism, bitterness, ineptness, and chicanery typical of the Revolution.

Thousands of Negroes, both slave and free, lived in this city, and there was a striking parallel between problems confronting British officials in Charleston during the Revolution and union authorities at Port Royal, South Carolina, during the Civil War. Neither was sure how to treat slaves who escaped from rebel masters asking for liberty, and both debated the wisdom of abolition and whether the exigencies of warfare made it desirable to arm blacks.

The Board of Police, patterned after similar boards in other occupied cities, was designed to play a key role in Charleston's pacification. Appointed by the military and staffed by Carolina loyalists, the board occupied the middle ground between martial law and civil government. McCowen evaluates in detail the role of the Board of Police and the problems it confronted: the minutiae of municipal government, executing Whitehall's confusing instructions, and the bewildering fact that the board, de-

signed as a temporary institution, became almost permanent. This study, based on broad research in British and American manuscript sources, provides an enlightening analysis of the workings of the Board of Police.

McCowen's treatment of social and economic conditions, though not without merit, is less original. It would have been instructive to know more about how British-occupied Charleston compared with Savannah, New York, and other British-occupied cities. The discussion and listing of intransigent South Carolina patriots who were exiled and imprisoned in St. Augustine is of particular interest to Floridians. This compact work makes a modest, though scholarly, contribution to the literature of the American Revolution.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

George Washington: Anguish and Farewell (1793-1799), Vol. IV.
By James Thomas Flexner. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972. 554 pp. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography, source references, index. \$15.00.)

James Flexner's final volume of this sterling biography portrays George Washington as a human, struggling president of a young nation, rather than as a larger-than-life folk hero. The importance of the interaction of Washington's private and public lives becomes understandable through Flexner's artful prose and skillful analyses.

This work avoids the pitfalls of adulatory biography, although the author's admiration of Washington is constantly apparent. The occasionally vital role of Washington's failing memory, lack of stamina, and decline in decisiveness are duly noted. My respect for Washington's political skill, however, increased after consuming Flexner's detailed descriptions of the President's handling of critical crises, such as the Genet Affair, the Whiskey Rebellion, and Jay's Treaty.

Washington's strength of character and political perception formed his two mainstays, according to Flexner. Washington did not theorize; he responded to specific problems and thus was able

to handle multitudes of conflicting problems while remaining the even-handed leader. Flexner emphasizes Washington's efforts to maintain a balanced administration both in foreign and domestic policies down to the geographic origin of his advisors. After leaving office he began to lose faith in any president's ability to be more than a candidate of a faction. Washington had intended to leave a unified nation, but he relinquished office when the country was badly divided by party spirit— in part, a final failure.

Flexner's insightful treatment of Washington's role as slave-owning plantation gentleman adds new dimensions to scholarly understanding of Washington. The author paints a vivid picture of Washington the struggling farmer, albeit on a large scale, hoping to balance accounts, but succeeding only when his land investments profited. Much of his speculative success, Flexner asserts, rested on his conservative approach and his aversion to Hamilton's financial facilities.

Washington became increasingly intolerant of slavery, according to Flexner, and ultimately concluded that it was immoral. He was, Flexner argues, one of the few political leaders from Virginia or the entire South who became more convinced of the inherent evil and economic bankruptcy of slavery when the revolution was over. Washington endeavored to free his slaves through his will, by allowing slaves to "escape," or remain behind in free states without searching for them. Yet he never extended himself to ameliorate either the mental or physical hardships of Negroes who served as his slaves. Washington realized slavery was uneconomical and immoral, Flexner says, but tradition, fear, and political necessity prevented him from publicizing his views while he lived.

There is very little for which a reviewer might criticize Flexner. The relationship of Martha and George could have been explored beyond such observations that Martha was "obedient" and George did not always find "Martha's company exciting." (p. 436). But overall this final volume is a fitting capstone to the most recent and in many ways the best multi-volume biography of America's most famous man.

Champion of Southern Federalism, Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina. By Joseph W. Cox. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1972. x, 230 pp. Preface, notes on sources, index. \$12.50.)

Joseph Cox's political biography of the Virginia-born, North Carolina-reared, Princeton-educated, South Carolina politician who finally settled in Maryland, is a welcome addition to the works that explore the nature of Southern Federalism.

This sinewy biography is a skillfully and zestfully written account of the life and times of Robert Goodloe Harper, only slightly marred by a defensive tone in sections. Since Harper has been frequently stereotyped as one of the more extreme xenophobic Federalists responsible for the chauvinistically illiberal Alien and Sedition Acts, the chief thrust of this rendering is to rehabilitate Harper. In this attempt Cox succeeds in demonstrating that while Harper veered too far to the right, he was in good company. However, no amount of explaining can alter the evidence that Harper did get carried away, and when he succumbed to the paranoia generated from fears of French invasion and slave insurrection, he embraced whatever measures necessary to secure the nation's defenses against enemies within and without. He was in that "end-justifies-the-means" quagmire from which he could not be extricated when the war scare dissipated. His political career ended trying vainly to elect Aaron Burr over Thomas Jefferson.

Of more value than the rehabilitation of Harper is the light shed into Southern Federalism. In 1968 Lisle Rose's *Prologue to Democracy* sought to recall attention to a neglected chapter by analyzing the political ideology and electioneering techniques of Federalists in the South. Cox's *Harper* is valuable in illustrating by the career of one man how Federalism in the South was transformed from moderate conservatism to rabid patriotism, a development that had no small role in the demise of a majority party.

Napoleon's Soldiers in America. By Simone de la Souchère Deléry. (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Co., 1972. xviii, 214 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

According to the foreword, written by James Domengaux, president of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, Ms. Deléry is "a Napoleonic scholar of the first rank" whose interest in this subject was stimulated by the discovery of a tombstone in a small Louisiana cemetery which read, "Pierre Charlet, Soldat de Napoléon I." After consulting sources from the public archives to private family collections, the author published the study in French as *A la poursuite des aigles*. It won the Prix de Langue Française of the French Academy, and the author received the Cross of the Legion of Honor for her historical work. Furthermore, the book was accepted as a current selection of the Cercle du Livre de France. With such impressive credentials, plus a career of teaching French at Tulane University in New Orleans, the book promises much.

Unfortunately, to this reviewer the promises were not realized. While many followers of the Corsican emperor fled to the United States after the final exile to St. Helena, this book is not really concerned with those except the ones in and around New Orleans. How disappointing for Alabama historians to find the Société Agricole et Mécanique (Vine and Olive Colony) of Marengo County, near Demopolis on the Tombigbee River, treated with a scant few pages! Other historians working on the same Napoleonic refugees, such as Winston Smith, did a better historical job (e.g., Smith's *Days of Exile: the Story of the Vine and Olive Colony in Alabama*). Camillus J. Dismukes, who wrote "The French Colony in Marengo County, Alabama," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Spring-summer 1970, 81-113), utilized the *American State Papers, Public Lands*, to provide valuable genealogical and historical information on the grantees.

What has Ms. Deléry done in her study? She has concentrated on a handful of the exiles, such as Pierre Benjamin Buisson, but she has hardly exhausted the sources on those exiles who settled in Louisiana. There is no listing of the former officers and men, no real analysis of what they did. Instead, the author treats us to fictitious conversations and anecdotes of local color. She does not

use the kind of information explored by Samuel J. Marino in his study of the newspapers and literature of the emigrés, but she makes up for it by substituting imaginative vignettes, based on real persons and, apparently, real events. One doesn't really know which!

French scholars may wonder at her reference to Jean Baptiste de Bienville as founder of New Orleans (Jean Baptiste Le Moyne was Sieur de Bienville, a title!), and linguistic scholars may object to the narrow, racist interpretation of the word, "Creole." This word was originally Spanish – *criollo*– and it referred to people born in the New World of European parents. "It goes without saying," says the author, "that the Creoles were pure Caucasian." (p. 18). Yet, in the eighteenth-century Cabildo Records the word is also used to describe free mulattoes of Louisiana, a meaning which is also accepted by Webster's Dictionary and a century and a half of common usage (the song, "Creole babies with flashing eyes . . . way down younder in New Orleans," refers to free mulattoes, not to the aristocratic Creole Association, dating from 1886).

There are occasional errors in the bibliography (Yakum for Yoakum) and references in historical journals are incomplete. If, however, you wish to taste the flavor of Creole life among the Napoleonic exiles, this book will give it, and it is well-written from a literary standpoint. It just is not good history.

University of Alabama in Birmingham

JACK D.L. HOLMES

The War of 1812. By John K. Mahon. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1972. viii, 476 pp. Prologue, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

The author set out to write a definitive history that would serve as a reference book and would place the War of 1812 precisely in its setting in the politics and culture of the time. He succeeded substantially in the first objective, less so in the second. What he has produced is a collection of extremely detailed narratives of campaigns as seen with the perspective of commanders in the field but inadequately related to overall strategic

planning, or lack of it. These accounts of campaigns and battles, based on primary and secondary authorities, form a comprehensive compendium which, though coming at a time when books on the War of 1812 seem to appear every few months, will long serve as the first source to which the student must turn for the facts. Copious references, indicated collectively at the end of each paragraph but printed at the back of the book, give access to the sources. There is also a full bibliography.

By contrast with the detail of operations, there is very little about the war as social phenomenon, little to show how it fits into the history of the evolution of warfare, little about its relation to the world conflict being waged in Europe at the same time, and little about its effect on the national development of the United States and Canada except in so far as sectional opposition in the former country is graphically portrayed by the unwillingness of New England to fight.

Because other scholars have recently dealt very fully with the origins of the war, Professor Mahon sketched its causes only briefly here without indication of differences of possible interpretation and of the fact that much more was at stake than seaman's and neutral rights. American expansionism, important though not the primary cause, is almost totally ignored and in the book's conclusion the fact that none of the ostensible American objectives were achieved is passed over lightly. The result is that the book gives the impression that the United States was victorious whereas, President Nixon's recent protest (that he did not want to be the first American President to lose a war) notwithstanding, a good case can be made for the opposite point of view.

The great value of this book, more than that of a reference book or as a lesson how not to fight a war (as was foreseen by the author), will be as leisure reading for many "buffs" who revel in accounts of battles and campaigns. *The War of 1812* makes no attempt to be colourful, dramatic, or literary; but the essential stories are told clearly, reasonably accurately, and in a straight forward manner, and that is what the buff wants.

It is a great pity that by a series of slips, the construction of H.M.S. *St Lawrence* and of U.S.S. *New Orleans*, the grotesque culmination of the ship-building race on Lake Ontario, is put in the fall of 1813 instead of 1814 and that the former vessel was launched by the author again in the fall of 1814, but misnamed

Lawrence. To add to the confusion, the index identifies the Atlantic fleet's schooner, *St. Lawrence*, which grounded in the Leonard's Creek in June 1814, with the Lake Ontario three-decker ship of the line *St. Lawrence*.

Duke University

RICHARD A. PRESTON

The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, Volume I, Toward Independence: October, 1856-April, 1861. Edited by William K. Scarborough. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. xlviii, 664 pp. Foreward, introduction, appendices, index. \$20.00.)

Southern historians have long recognized a diary kept by Edmund Ruffin from 1856 to 1865 as a valuable source of information on the secession movement. Using the diary, however, had been neither convenient nor pleasant as it ran into many hundreds of barely-legible pages. Now, thanks to the editorial labors of Professor Scarborough, a leading authority on antebellum southern agriculture, scholars will be able to consult this important document for the 1856-1861 period without over-taxing their patience or eyesight.

When he began to keep a diary Ruffin had completed his work as an agricultural reformer, being then generally credited with having laid the foundation of the prosperity of the old states of the Upper South, and had given his plantations to his children. In retirement he was free to concentrate upon achieving independence for the slave states, and his diary recorded his activities as a secessionist propagandist.

During the years covered by Volume I of the *Diary*, Ruffin traveled extensively through the southeastern states, attending all events in which secessionists were interested. His accounts of the Southern Commercial Convention held at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1858, the Charleston convention of the National Democratic Party, and the South Carolina Secession Convention are particularly interesting. In addition to these, Ruffin left vivid first-hand accounts of the execution of John Brown, and of the siege of Fort Sumter, during which he fired the opening cannon shot of the Civil War.

The *Diary*, however, is most valuable for the insight it gives

into the thinking of a man who was perhaps the most effective of all the secessionist propagandists. In numerous passages he revealed that his obsession with slavery and southern independence arose from a conviction that all other races of mankind were inherently inferior to Caucasians. Consequently, Ruffin was of two minds with regard to southern imperialism. On the one hand, he wanted to bring Cuba, Santo Domingo, and the countries of Central America into his projected southern confederacy. On the other, he objected to adding large numbers of people of mixed African and European ancestry to the free blacks already residing in the southern states. He would welcome the blacks in those lands provided that they remained slaves or were reduced to that status, but he could find no place for the mulatto upper classes. In the same spirit, Ruffin applauded the extension of British rule over Asians, while deploring English abolitionism as extreme hypocrisy.

Because Ruffin focused too narrowly on agriculture, slavery, and secessionism, his *Diary* is less informative than those of Mary Boykin Chesnut, William Johnson, and Benjamin L. C. Wailes. Historians can use it with profit, but the general reader will find little in it to interest him.

Florida State University

JOHN HEBRON MOORE

The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation. By Robert F. Durden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. xi, 305pp. Preface, note on historiography, index. \$10.95.)

Prize-winning books in history tend to be special, and Robert Durden's *The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation* is no exception. The 1972 Jules F. Landry award winner presents a striking new look at one of the Civil War South's last desperate measures for victory. Appearing nearly sixty years after N. W. Stephenson's pioneer article, "The Question of Arming the Slaves" (*American Historical Review* 1913), Durden is the first to suggest that the stereotypical view of Jefferson Davis— intractable and of limited if determined vision— is unfair, at least in so far as the southern debate whether or not to utilize slaves in combat.

Durden contends that not only the President but the Confederacy at large still believed in victory as late as the winter of 1864-1865. All that remained for the South was to solve its manpower needs before the spring offensive. In November Davis proposed to the Confederate Congress "a radical modification" to cope with this critical issue. He suggested that his government purchase some 40,000 slaves who would be freed at the end of the war. However, Davis also indicated that, for the present moment, he saw no need to arm them.

By turning their attention only to Davis's disclaimer that the slaves were not to be used as soldiers immediately, Durden suggests that historians who have examined this issue have missed its essential significance. Like Lincoln in 1863, Jefferson Davis also had shifted war aims. For his government, preservation of slavery was relegated to a secondary role; southern independence rose to chief importance.

Through extensive use of newspapers and other sources connected by brief narrative passages, the author clearly develops the idea that it was the southern people themselves who lacked "the intelligence, imagination, and moral courage" to abandon the "peculiar institution." Durden concentrates on the Confederate debate that followed Davis's proposal in November 1864. From the multitude of editorial and other public comment—pro and con—Durden traces the major outlines of the various arguments concerning the arming of slaves: it would spell the ruin of slavery; it would incite insurrection; it was foolish to expect slaves to fight as men; white soldiers would refuse to fight alongside blacks. When Robert E. Lee publicly expressed his support for the measure, Durden notes, most of the vocal opposition was stilled. Finally, in mid-March 1865, the Confederate Congress passed a law to organize and train slaves for combat. However, the law was weak and ambiguous, attempting to preserve slavery even as some slaves were to be freed. Only a few were actually organized and began training, and none saw action; the war ended less than a month after the act was passed.

Perhaps the primary virtue of *The Gray and the Black* is its confirmation of a fundamental view of southern racial history. Durden echoes U. B. Phillips's "central theme" thesis about white supremacy. He points out in summation that the Confederacy had come into being because of "the majority's belief that Ne-

groes should, as inferior beings, be permanently kept in slavery, where they were happy and subordinated to whites." There is no question, however, that this work is an important contribution to a new and larger understanding of the black impact on the Civil War.

Daytona Beach Community College

PETER D. KLINGMAN

An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War. By Graham A. Cosmos. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972. xii, 334 pp. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$11.50.)

This is the kind of book which ought to be written in our time about military history. It is not a glory story, nor a retelling of already well-told combat narratives. Instead it is a history of the military institution of such good quality that even authors who have written books on the war with Spain can learn much from it.

The author states his focus on page 2, and never after loses sight of it: to examine the war from the point of view of the War Department. In doing this he demonstrates that the department and the army did as well as they could, given the culture of the time. He presents several reasons why they could not do better. One was that the military services at the time lacked an institutional brain and nervous system. No element of the land establishment was under concentrated direction, not the War Department, not the army, not even V Corps which fought in Cuba. Another was that the military could not get from the Commander-in-chief or from anyone else a statement of objectives. First the army was directed to plan for a small invasion to land on the south coast of Cuba and make connection with General Garcia's rebel force. Hardly had it begun to work toward that objective, when it was told to prepare to assail Havana instead with 50,000-60,000 men. Once implementation of that strategy was well underway, the objective in Cuba was shifted from Havana to Santiago. At the same time in the spring of 1898 the President turned suddenly toward an expeditionary force to go to the Philippines. He did not, however, inform the military arm whether its mission was to cooperate with the rebels, or to conquer the islands perhaps for the United States to occupy. The

supply bureaus, which worked independently anyhow, were not informed of radical changes in objectives and in movement of troops.

Professor Cosmos handles well the interplay of politics and personalities which did much to shape strategy and the final outcome of the war. He lays before the reader the infighting between those factions which wanted the expeditionary forces to consist only of troops raised and controlled by the United States government, and their opponents who wanted the states, through the National Guard, to play an equal role. A political coalition of southern legislators, Populists, and the National Guard Association defeated the administration's attempt to obtain an all-national force.

The key figure was President McKinley. He soon lost faith in Secretary of War Russell Alger and Commanding General Nelson Miles, and installed General John M. Schofield as his personal military advisor. Miles and Alger so insidiously resisted this bypass that the President turned more and more to Adjutant General Henry C. Corbin for military advice. But as Cosmos puts it on page 102, McKinley had an instinct for power, and he kept the lines of control, both civil and military, in his own hands. He became in effect his own secretary of war and his own commanding general. As such he used appointments to strengthen his administration politically. Nevertheless, the author says he employed the available military talent of the United States effectively.

Cosmos states that the War Department bungled the return of Shafter's troops to the United States, and that this brought about the belief that the conduct of the war was a scandal. General Miles intensified the scent of scandal by allegations concerning what he called "embalmed beef" issued to the troops. He hoped to ride this accusation, the author says, into being elected President. In any case, the principal victim of the inflated charge of scandal was the army itself, for the President with real finesse kept his record clean. Although injustices resulted, the end product was the reform of the military establishment in 1903 and after.

The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969. By Pete Daniel. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. xii, 209 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliographic essay, index. \$7.95.)

When the United States acquired New Mexico, it inherited a system of peonage under which forced labor was extracted from those who found themselves indebted to their employers. Following emancipation, the same conditions came to prevail in various sectors of the South, even though a federal peonage statute was enacted in 1867. Conditions were intensified in the 1890s when labor and other proscriptive laws were enacted against blacks. Included were those which stipulated that if a laborer left his job after signing a contract and obtaining money, he should be punished as if he had stolen it. When some state courts held that "intent to defraud" had to be proven, the legislatures of Alabama, Georgia, and Florida amended their contract labor laws removing this requirement.

Despite intimidation and ignorance, numerous blacks and some whites annually presented their pleas for help to the United States Department of Justice. In most cases only cursory investigations were made, but in others, especially where white attorneys-general and federal judges were concerned, some positive results were obtained. As a result of the *Clyatt Case* in 1905, the 1867 peonage law was sustained, although Clyatt himself escaped punishment. Much national concern was aroused by the Alabama peonage cases of 1903, primarily due to the zeal of District Judge Thomas G. Jones, although as a result only four persons served a combined period of five months in jail and paid an aggregate fine of \$500. Another Alabama case, that of Alonzo Bailey, which Booker T. Washington helped arrange, resulted in the United States Supreme Court declaring the Alabama contract labor law unconstitutional on the basis of its violating the 1867 peonage statute. Unfortunately, the comparable Georgia and Florida laws were not overturned until 1942 and 1944.

Though legal victories curtailed peonage, they did not end it. The ignorance and isolation of the victims, the customs and racism of its perpetrators, and the sectionalism and inertia of the public combined to make the system endemic. It flourished in

three areas: the cotton belt from the Carolinas to Texas, the turpentine belt from northern Florida to Mississippi, and briefly in railroad construction camps, especially in the Keys construction of the Florida East Coast Railroad. After 1910 foreign peonage declined, due, in part, to the vigilance of the Italian government in protesting conditions under which Italian immigrants were worked.

Daniel demonstrates that contrary to the contention of many, including the Justice Department, peonage has been a sectional and racial problem. Many blacks were forced into debt, had a minute debt paid for them, and were held indefinitely as virtual slaves. Unlike slaves, however, they could be abused since they had no monetary value. Improved transportation and communication have made the system more difficult to maintain. Beginning with World War II the Justice Department, aroused by enemy propaganda regarding American conditions and later by the civil rights crusade, has been more vigilant and responsive. Yet, Daniel contends, a number of complaints continue to be received yearly with scant results. The average citizen is unconcerned, and the victims are the most helpless members of society.

Professor Daniel for the first time has thoroughly utilized the Peonage Collection in the United States Department of Justice, whose materials are open only through 1945. His carefully documented work depicts peonage in all of its bestiality and is a challenge to every citizen.

Samford University

HUGH C. BAILEY

Another Look at the Twentieth-Century South. By George E. Mowry. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. ix, 90 pp. \$4.95.)

In this book, the published version of his Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Professor George Mowry does not attempt a "comprehensive reinterpretation of recent southern history." He chooses instead a more manageable task, "an inquiry into some relatively unexplored corners of southern culture from, perhaps, an angle of vision not ordinarily utilized by the many distinguished historians of the section."

The latter sentence is hardly an overstatement. In his first of three lectures Mowry suggests that southern history— despite the disclaimers of a long line of writers— is hardly unique. Remove the Negro, and that which remains will resemble nothing so much as the history of that middle western area which forms Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, the Dakotas, Kansas, and Nebraska. Ethnic, religious, political, and economic similarities in the two regions abound, Mowry argues, obscured only by the southern presence of sizable numbers of black people. And if one can accept, for purposes of discussion, the idea of an all-white South, Mowry's evidence of regional similarity is provocative. That such a question is historically valid as a technique of inquiry is, however, altogether another consideration.

In his second and third lectures, Mowry turns to the paradox and persistence of southern political conservatism. Arguing that the principal objective of southern politics has been the preservation of the southern economic and racial *status quo*, Mowry shows that in pursuit of that goal southern leaders frequently have followed an ideologically inconsistent path. By examining briefly the careers of three representative southern leaders— John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, Josiah Bailey of North Carolina, and James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, Mowry bolsters his argument that the South has not been steadfastly conservative as an end in itself. For all three men supported the bulk of New Freedom or New Deal legislation, legislation on which the modern national state rests. They supported such programs, paradoxically, to retain the influence which would enable the South to maintain its existing socioeconomic society, and to advance their own personal careers.

Such a paradoxical position, Mowry concludes, brought a high price. Fifteen years of civil rights decisions and the rise of a powerful central government suggest that “the southern conservatives' fifty-year trade off has been disastrous for their most cherished causes,” preserving the racial and economic *status quo*. The nation's conservative mood, however, offers a possible source of solace, writes Mowry, for an era which confirms conservative southern values may well be upon us. If so, Mowry concludes perceptively, the long performance of southern conservatives con-

stitutes one of the most remarkable holding actions in the history of American politics.

University of Florida

AUGUSTUS M. BURNS

Marginality and Identity: A Colored Creole Family Through Ten Generations. By Sister Frances Jerome Woods. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. xv, 432 pp. Introduction, tables, appendix, index. \$15.00.)

Since the work of Kurt Lewin thirty years ago, "Marginality" and "Identity" as sociological constructs have been useful tools in any study of ethnicity. Sister Frances J. Woods, professor of sociology at Our Lady of the Lake College (San Antonio), has applied the two concepts to a colored creole family which she has named the "Letoyants." As sociology, this volume stands as a particularistic study in identity; as history, there is little to commend it. While this reviewer is bothered by many instances of sociological simplicity bordering on truisms ("A husband is expected to be a good provider for his family and to enjoy sufficiently good health to do a 'good day's work'," (p. 157)) the study has been well researched through participant observation, extensive interviews, surveys, and by examination of genealogical and other records. Both the research design and the final book are highly structured in a formal manner.

For a marginal people like these colored creoles in "Riverville," Louisiana, there was from their special beginning a need to create and maintain a separate identity. The main hypothesis that Sister Frances tests is that when such a people remain geographically separate and isolated, residentially and religiously a unit, their identity is strongly held and maintained. On the other hand, when such people move to another area and lose ties to the group, the identity weakens and may disappear, creating in them a sense of alienation. This case study explores these hypotheses through a detailed examination of religious, residential ("homeland") attachment, self-image, and other-image factors. Because of the "marginality" of these particular colored people, the chances of losing their identity was, and is, much greater the moment they leave "Riverville," or if they associate in any inti-

mate manner with Negroes in "Riverville." Thus, they must especially guard against being forced to accept the lesser identity of the "pure" blacks. Whenever possible, Sister Frances allows the "Letoyants" to speak for themselves in defining the creole identity. While this leads to some repetition, the direct quotes reveal more of the group's "ethnic" jealousies, prejudices, and fears than any of Sister's narrative.

The subtitle of this volume is: "A Colored Creole Family Through Ten Generations." It might better have been ". . . After Ten Generations," for Sister Frances has given little attention to historical forces and/or conditions as they may have affected the "Letoyants." Beyond the constant (and essential) frame of reference of the original (1767) white (French)-slave alliance, and the issuance of nine children from that common-law arrangement, the absence of such historical factors creates a sociological vacuum. While it was not the author's intention to write an extensive historical account, such omissions as the impact of Civil Rights legislation and/or the black protest movement on the actions and reactions (if, indeed, there were any) of these colored creoles is difficult to understand. The interview instruments did not appear to cover such information. Did these creoles live in "splendid isolation" throughout the time span covered, or were there specific eras (e.g., at the turn of the century) when their "coloredness" or "creole-ness" was less or more of an advantage to possess than any French historical heritage which Sister claims gave them a "psychological security"?

Wow does a "marginal" group (even with a strong identity) survive economic and social pressures which are beyond their ability to control? We are led to believe that those "Letoyants" who migrated out of the "Riverville" area are almost **abbrerrations**, rather than part of major forces such as increased oppression and sensitivity to colored status and statutes, poor economic conditions and increased aspirations, as evidenced by greater educational expectations and integration. Did the "Letoyants" who left "Riverville" find greater freedom and status reward as Negroes? Sister's study seems to imply they did. Such a response would portend a greater exodus in the future— a social factor upon which we cannot speculate from the data given. The study ends with a report of a thesis done on "Letoyant" children whose creole school had been closed. Their integration into Negro or

white schools has deeply shaken their ethnic consciousness. Can the "Letoyants" survive this blow to their separate identity? These are questions not answered by this study.

Bureau of Social Studies Education
Albany, New York

DONALD H. BRAGAW

Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists. By John Lee Eighmy. Introduction by Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1972. xvii, 249 pp. Introduction, preface, acknowledgments, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$11.50.)

The contribution to scholarship made by John Eighmy before his untimely death is a major corrective to the oversimplified treatment of America's largest Protestant church. His book treats Southern Baptists more fully than Kenneth Bailey's *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century* and with greater continuity than Rufus Spain's *At Ease in Zion*. Eighmy demonstrates how Baptists twisted religion to rationalize the South's secular cultural order, but his principle achievement is to correct the misinterpretation of C. Vann Woodward that the social gospel did not penetrate the South. The author correctly traces the expanding Baptist social awareness to the issue of prohibition. Having once insisted that the state should enforce prohibition, Baptists broadened their vision to include many other social problems.

This study is no apology for pietistic religion. The author exposes the contradiction of a church which on one hand demands that the state enforce norms regarding private morality (sabbath observance, drinking), while insisting that social morality (poverty, race) involves matters of private conscience on which the church must remain silent. Eighmy goes beyond criticism to explain such contradictions. He observes that the Southern Baptist free church tradition left it without hierarchial leadership. The denomination moves only when it can reach consensus, and there is neither bishop nor presbytery to save its courageous voices from execution by local congregations. There

have been pitifully few prophetic leaders, but the denomination has been more democratic and honestly reflective of white, middle class church people than other denominations where liberal minorities control church machinery.

This study will not be the final chapter on Southern Baptists for several reasons. As editor Samuel Hill points out, it is an elitist history of selected denominational leadership and excludes inarticulate Baptists. This causes some substantial interpretative distortions such as Eighmy's conclusion that Southern Baptists supported "Bourbon conservatism" in the nineteenth century; but he ignores the dozens of Baptist Populist leaders who came from ministerial posts, and the fact that predominantly rural, Baptist counties often supplied the heart of Populist voting strength. Eighmy's "Baptist spokesmen" and "denominational leaders" do not equal, as he implies, the "Baptist conscience." Even the author acknowledges this in his discussion of the 1960 presidential election when he notes that John Kennedy's Catholicism produced a "Baptist position" (elitist attitude), but not a "Baptist vote" (attitude of inarticulate parishoners). The problem is compounded by the necessity in such a vast study to selectively use source materials.

Despite such qualifications, this book is presently the most objective and complete treatment of official Southern Baptist attitudes on social problems.

Samford University

WAYNE FLYNT

Peter Pitchlynn: Chief of the Choctaws. By W. David Baird. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972. xix, 243 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

This volume is a part of a program, begun forty years ago by University of Oklahoma Press, to reconstruct the history of the American Indians. Some 120 books have now appeared in the series, including some of the most distinguished in the literature about Indians.

Several years ago Professor Baird found a vast collection of manuscripts relating to Peter Pitchlynn, who had a Choctaw

grandparent, a circumstance that made him Indian enough to be somewhat alienated from white society and which provided him with an Indian political constituency. It seems possible that the availability of material about Pitchlynn may have gone far toward inspiring this biography. Understandably Baird finds little to admire in this man who often represented the Choctaw in Washington and whose energies were often devoted to pocketing as much as possible of the money the government was supposed to pay the tribe for the loss of much of their lands.

But the talent of scoundrels is not such a rare commodity in American society as to necessarily command a high price. So after spending most of his seventy-five years steadfastly in pursuit of graft, with scarcely a glimmering of a realization that life holds possibilities beyond the immediate object of getting one's front feet in the trough, eagerly awaiting kickbacks thrown to him by the influence-peddling lawyers handling Indian claims, Pitchlynn finally died without leaving behind enough money for his own burial.

This biography is competently researched and written. But was it worth the trouble to tell the story of a petty rascal who aspired to bigger if not better things? Probably so. We certainly know the story of the Pitchlynns who made it in government and business, who founded great institutions, and thus lived to see their scullduggery rewarded with public honor. Perhaps it is well to be reminded of the countless others who also attended the "Great Barbecue" in Washington only to find that their loss of honor had been rewarded with crumbs.

California State Polytechnic University

W. MCKEE EVANS

BOOK NOTES

Side Roads of Florida, by James R. Warnke, is a "look-see" of "the other Florida." All too many visitors visit only the widely-publicized attractions and miss the real Florida, which the author describes as "a land of beauty and serenity." His interest is in the deserted by-ways, swamps, empty keys, caves, old cemeteries, and places in the woods where you can still spot a wild hog or

bear, where turkey buzzards sit hunched in the top of dead pine trees, and where herons, egrets, anhingas, and white ibis soar through the evening sky. Mr. Warnke includes pictures, several in color— showing the places noted in his book. The paperback sells for \$2.95, and it may be ordered from the author, Box 1408, Boynton Beach, Florida 33435.

Trek to Florida is a novel by Broome Stringfellow, who counts among her illustrious Florida ancestors Governor James Broome (1853-1857). She tells the story of a South Carolina doctor and his family who shortly before the Civil War traveled by wagon caravan, south through Georgia and the Okefenokee swamp and across the St. Marys River, to Florida where they planned to live. There is much interesting descriptive material in the book. Published by Great Outdoors Press, St. Petersburg 33714, it sells for \$1.95.

WDAE was licensed in 1922 and was the first Florida radio to begin broadcasting. Hampton Dunn of Tampa, who has been associated with the station for thirty-six of its fifty years, has written *WDAE— Florida's Pioneer Radio Station*. It sells for \$4.95, and it may be ordered from the author, 10610 Carrollwood Drive, Tampa 33618.

The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877, by Joe M. Richardson, is considered the best study available on Florida blacks in the post-Civil War period. Published originally in a limited edition, it has long been out-of-print. It is again available from Trend House, P. O. Box 2350, Tampa 33601. It sells for \$10.00.

Osceola, by Marion E. Gridley, is a book designed for children just learning to read. The sketches are by Lloyd L. Oxendine. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, it sells for \$2.97.

Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, by William Augustus Bowles, has been reprinted by Arno Press in its First American Frontier series. The price is \$6.00.

The South Since Reconstruction, a collection of primary source documents edited by Thomas D. Clark, is in the American Heritage Series published by Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. The dominant themes of Professor Clark's volume are race relations and economics. The opening chapter, "A Heritage of Change," examines major problems facing the South, and notes the landmark literature that attempted to analyze the forces that have had an impact on this region. All the important southern spokesmen are represented, including Henry W. Grady, Walter Hines Page, Edgar Gardner Murphy, Matthew Brown Hammond, Louis D. Rubin, Jr., W. B. DuBois, and Booker T. Washington. The paperback sells for \$6.50.

The Glory of Covington, by William Bailey Williford, is the history of one of Georgia's loveliest antebellum cities. Newton County was created in 1821, and its first houses were probably log cabins. The Brown-Anderson house was built around such a cabin. The oldest house now standing in Covington dates to 1828. Sherman's forces passed through the area in 1864, but the town and its handsome residences were spared. Many pictures are included in the book which sells for \$12.00. It is available from Cherokee Publishing Company, P. O. Box 1081, Covington 30209.

Alabama: A Chronology & Documentary Handbook is the first volume in a new state series published by Oceana Publications, Dobbs Ferry, New York. William F. Swindler is series editor, and Ellen Lloyd Trover is editor of the *Alabama* volume. It lists major events in Alabama's history from exploration to the present. There is a biographical directory, an outline of the state's constitution, and five documents relating to Alabama's history. *Florida* is volume nine in the series. State editor is Mary Frech. It also lists Florida history events from Ponce de Leon's discovery to 1971, and contains a biographical directory, constitution outline, and five documents. Needless errors need correcting. For instance, Kathryn Hanna's name is spelled Hamm. Each volume sells for \$5.00.

South Carolina Chronology, 1497-1970, by George C. Rogers, Jr., is in the South Carolina Tricentennial Booklet series. It lists

important dates in South Carolina's history, including several that relate to Florida. Published by University of South Carolina Press, Columbia 29208, the paperback sells for \$1.95.

New Orleans Drinks and How to Mix Them, by Jack D. L. Holmes, is hardly what one would expect to find reviewed in a historical journal. This is more than just a book of drinks recipes, however. The title, as the author points out, is misleading. Professor Holmes's fifteen years of historical research were motivated by two axioms: (1) "Man shall not live by history alone," and (2) "Brother drink up, for life is short." The end result is a product of his own two great interests: "history and drinking." Professor Holmes's book contains many historical curiosities. For instance, we learn that Jean Baptiste LeMoyné, Sieur de Bienville, operated a tavern in Mobile between 1706 and 1712, and that he tried to get as much as \$200 for a cask of wine. Gin was not a popular libation in colonial New Orleans and West Florida, according to contemporary accounts, but absinthe was New Orleans's favorite liqueur. Thirty bottles of it sold for \$17.00 in 1777. Six years earlier the lieutenant governor of the colony urged the government to subsidize breweries. Professor Holmes's chapter titles are intriguing: "Fruit Recipes Betty Crocker Doesn't Know," "Absinthe Makes the Heart Grow Fonder?" and "A Day Without Wine Is Like a Day Without Sunshine." This "historical guide" sells for \$3.95, and it is available from Hope Publications, P. O. Box 10062, New Orleans 70121.

"Free persons of color" were found in French colonial Louisiana as early as 1725, where according to the *Code Noir* they had the rights of any citizen of French Louisiana, except for marriage with and legacies from whites. Population grew, and a census of 1788 showed 1,701 free Negroes living in Louisiana and West Florida. These blacks participated in the capture of Baton Rouge and Pensacola in Gálvez's campaigns against the British during the American Revolution. Louisiana's Battalion of Free Men of Color fought under Andrew Jackson in the Battle of New Orleans, shortly after the fall of Pensacola, and during the Civil War the two regiments of "men of color" were the only organized

blacks fighting on the Confederate side. *Our People and Our History*, by Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes, translated and edited by Sister Dorothea Olga McCants, records the lives of some fifty Creoles living in New Orleans during the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century. Published by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, it sells for \$7.95.

John Brown, edited by Richard Warch and Jonathan Fanton, is in the Great Lives Observed series, published by Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Selections of Brown's writings and contemporary accounts are included. The volume sells for \$6.95 cloth; \$2.45 paperback.

Latin America, 1492-1942, A Guide to Historical and Cultural Development Before World War II, is by A. Curtis Wilgus, formerly of the University of Florida and the University of Miami. This work, first published in 1941, provides a wealth of factual data relating to the development of Latin America, including a detailed bibliographical essay, an outline of constitutions, a glossary of Spanish and Portuguese terms, and maps. Reprinted by Scarecrow Press, P. O. Box 656, Metuchen, New Jersey 08840, it sells for \$20.00.

Shortly after a doctoral program in history was established at Florida State University in 1958, the decision was made to expand the offerings in the era of the French Revolution. Serious collecting began and from a meager assortment of some 300 books, the collection has expanded so that today it includes over 5,000 titles and more than 700 rolls of microfilm. It is considered one of the major collections on this period available. *The French Revolution and Napoleon Collection at Florida State University, A Bibliographical Guide*, by Donald D. Horward of Florida State University, lists the materials in the Robert M. Strozier Library. Published by the Friends of the Florida State University Library, the volume may be ordered from Florida State University Library, Tallahassee 32306. The price is \$12.50.

The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands, by D. S. Otis, was printed originally as part of the hearings before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Indian Affairs in 1934. It is a detailed account with documents of the Dawes Act of 1887 which provided for the allotment of Indian lands in severalty and was one of the most important pieces of legislation dealing with Indian affairs in United States history. The book has been republished by the University of Oklahoma Press in its Civilization of the American Indian Series. The new edition carries an introduction, revised footnotes, and an index by Dr. Francis Paul Prucha, S.J. It sells for \$6.95.

My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians, by Oliver Otis Howard, is the story of his fourteen years as an Indian frontier commander. After service as a corp and army commander during the Civil War, Howard became head of the Freedman's Bureau. In 1867 he helped establish Howard University and served as its president from 1869 to 1874. In 1872 President Grant sent him on two special peace missions to war-wracked Arizona. His second trip resulted in the famous peace with Cochise and the Apaches. There is a detailed account of this dramatic journey in the book. It also includes a description of the Nez Perse War of 1877 the other outstanding episode of Howard's frontier career. Da Capo Press, New York, has republished the 1907 edition. There is an interpretative introduction by Robert M. Utley. The volume sells for \$15.00.

Our Indian Wards is by George W. Manypenny, commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1853 to 1857 and chairman of the Sioux Commission of 1876. It contains material on the Indians of the Southeast—Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks. Da Capo Press, New York, has reprinted the 1880 edition, which sells for \$12.50.

HISTORY NEWS

Announcements and Activities

The Board of Trustees of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc. voted to make a gift of \$500 to the Florida Historical Society to be used for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The money will be for art work and additional photographs for the journal. Fillmore Wentworth, a New York native, lived for many years in Clearwater. The Fairmont Canning Company of Minnesota developed into a major American industrial enterprise under his direction. The plant canned almost a score of products and was a pioneer in the field of frozen foods. In Clearwater, Mr. Wentworth developed the instant quick freezer for sea foods and acquired the capital stock of the Gulf Gold, Inc., a frozen food processing company. He was actively involved in this business at the time of his death, September 8, 1967. His will provided for the creation of the Wentworth Foundation to provide funds for the education of worthy young people and to carry on philanthropic and educational activities.

The fifth annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will meet in Pensacola, February 7-8, 1974. The theme is "Indians of the Lower South." The workshop Thursday, February 7, will focus on "Teaching of the Indian Past in History Courses." Speakers will discuss "Resources for the Study of Indian Cultures of the Lower South" and "American Indian Studies in the Classroom: Problems of Interpretation." Speakers on the panel, "Whiteman's Image of the Indian: A Rebuttal," will be Buffalo Tiger, Chairman of the Florida Miccosukee Tribe; Mary Francis Johns, Florida Seminole Tribe; Adolph L. Dial, Director of Indian Studies, Pembroke State College; and Phillip Martin, Chief, Choctaw Tribe East of the Mississippi. Other participants of Thursday's sessions are Dr. Samuel Proctor, University of Florida; James A. Servies, University of West Florida; Mrs. Harriet Deissler, Pensacola; Dr. John K. Mahon, University of Florida; Dr. John Peterson, Mississippi State University;

Robert Ferguson, Southeastern Institute of Anthropological Studies; Dr. Jack Gregory, University of West Florida; Wayne L. Perkins, Escambia County Board of Education, Pensacola; and Thomas LoGuidice, Pensacola. Speakers on Friday will discuss "Southeastern Indians Who Stayed" and "Indian Removal Policy." Speakers are Professor Adolph L. Dial, Dr. J. Anthony Paredes, Florida State University; Dr. Charles H. Fairbanks, University of Florida; C. B. Clark, University of Oklahoma; Dr. Mary Young, Ohio State University; and Dr. Harry Kersey, Florida Atlantic University. Dr. Angie Debo, Emeritus Professor of History, University of Oklahoma, will deliver the banquet address.

Further information and copies of the proceedings of earlier conferences are available by writing James Moody, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, 200 East Zaragoza Street, Pensacola, Florida 32502.

The T. G. Wentworth Junior Museum of Pensacola has published its twenty-third *Pensacola Picture Book*. It includes photographs and sketches made in the Pensacola area during the Civil War. The booklet sells for twenty-five cents and can be ordered from the Museum, Box 806, Pensacola 32502. The Museum, Palafox Highway at Ensley, is open each Saturday and Sunday afternoon with free admission.

The United States Department of the Interior has designated the St. Augustine town plan, the Gonzalez-Alvarez House, and the Lambias House, as Registered National Historic Landmarks. A plaque recognizing the town plan was unveiled July 26 by Bruce Miller, Deputy Director, Florida-Caribbean District of National Park Service. Other plaques were unveiled in a ceremony in the patio of the Oldest House, August 28, 1973.

A Museum of Medical History has been opened in St. Augustine on the second floor of the Historic Spanish Military Hospital as a cooperative project of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, Florida Medical Association, and the Women's Auxiliary of the Florida Medical Association. It houses antique medical instruments, books, historic photographs, and other examples of the development of medicine.

Mrs. Rose C. Ward of Floral City, a student at the Florida Community College, Ocala, received the 1973 Mary MacRae History Award for her paper, "Henry Hampton Dunn: A Man of Integrity." It was presented by Tom Knotts, chairman of the College's board of trustees. The award recognizes the late Mrs. Mary MacRae, long-time member of the Florida Historical Society and the outstanding citizen-historian of Citrus County.

The tenth annual *Southern Genealogist's Exchange Society* workshop is scheduled to be held in Jacksonville October 19-20, 1973 at the Holiday Inn, I-95, South Jacksonville. Walter Hartridge of Savannah, Georgia, will serve as moderator and will also participate in a panel discussing the southern "Ports of Entry." He will describe Savannah, St. Augustine, and New Orleans. Mrs. Mary Warren of Athens, Georgia, and Bill R. Linder of Virginia are also on the program. Registration is \$6.50. For information write P.O. Box 2801, Jacksonville, Florida 32203.

Local Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Commission: At its meeting on July 12, 1973, Commission members reviewed the historical markers program and approved the erection of markers in Newberry, Hawthorne, and Waldo. An inventory of historic county sites is underway, and 1,416 structures have been listed. Twenty-six sites may meet the criteria for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. At the Commission's meeting August 9, Jack Opdyke, Helen Ellerbe, and Sara Drylie were appointed committee chairpersons. Plans for the publication of a survey history of Alachua County as part of the sesquicentennial were announced. The county sesquicentennial will be celebrated in December 1974.

Alachua County Historical Society: Thelma A. Boltin of White Springs presented a program entitled "Florida Lore in Song and Story" at the September 18 meeting of the Society. The American Association for State and Local History presented an Award of Merit to Mrs. Boltin at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in May 1973 for her contributions to Florida folklore and music. Mrs. Chris Matheson was the speaker on

October 16, and the subject of her talk was "Augustus Steele: Pioneer Developer." Mrs. Matheson displayed letters and heirlooms belonging to the Steele family.

Central Florida Society for Historic Preservation: The major project of the Society is restoration of an area of Longwood, one of the oldest communities in Central Florida. The historical district, created by the City Council, includes Christ Episcopal Church, built in 1789, the Bradlee-McIntyre (on the National Register of Historic Places), and the Inside-Outside House. Exterior restoration has begun on the latter two buildings supported by a \$25,000 grant from the United States Department of the Interior. The partially-restored Longwood Hotel was placed on the Florida Bicentennial Trail in July in conjunction with a meeting there of the Florida Bicentennial Commission. The Society's officers are Betty Jo McLeod, president; Joseph Cardilli, vice-president; Fred Bistline, treasurer; and Dorothy Pearson, secretary.

Florida Baptist Historical Society: Dr. E. Earl Joiner has been named curator and secretary-treasurer of the Society. His address is Stetson University, DeLand, Florida 32720.

Florida Genealogical Society: The following officers have been elected for the year 1973-1974: Frank L. Adams, president; Mrs. Charles S. Tidwell, vice-president; Mrs. Kenneth T. Jones, treasurer; Virginia Carte, recording secretary; Eliger Beach, corresponding secretary; and J. B. Singley, librarian. Theodore Lesley, Virginia Sloan, and Mrs. Charles Boyer are directors. Theodore Lesley is also editor of the Society's journal. Its latest issue includes an article "Mickler and the Seminoles" and a list of Revolutionary War pension certificates paid in Florida.

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society: At the first Pioneer Days program at the American Heritage School, the Society exhibited a replica of the original Fort Lauderdale, old flags, papers and rare books on Florida history, and paintings of early buildings. A group of Seminole Indians constructed a chickee and demonstrated Indian crafts. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami, was the speaker. A booklet, *First Annual Broward Coun-*

ty's Pioneer Days, has been published by the Mental Health Association of Broward County and the Broward County Historical Commission. The July number of the *New River News* included material on the House of Refuge. During the past year the Society dedicated several historical markers, including one at the King-Cromartie House. A marker at Snyder Park will be erected this fall. The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society is in its eleventh year of operation: its library contains newspapers, magazines, photographs, documents, maps, letters, books, and artifacts relating to the area.

Halifax Historical Society: The Mary McLeod Bethune Anniversary was celebrated by the members at its meeting July 10 at the Halifax Historical Museum. Dr. Florence Roane, who served with and was closely associated with Mrs. Bethune, was the leader. Mrs. Eileen Butts spoke on "Our Least Known Plantation" at the program meeting August 5, and Mrs. Cherie Gardner described "Harbor Oaks and Sugar Mill Gardens" at the meeting September 4. The Society meets monthly, maintains its museum at 224½ S. Beach. Street, and publishes the *Halifax Historical Herald*. Officers are Hazelle L. Fenty, president; Mrs. W. K. Ellenwood, vice-president; Elam V. Martin, treasurer; and Mabel Martin, secretary. Information on membership is available from Mrs. Fenty at 432 South Palmetto Avenue, Daytona Beach, Florida 32014.

Hillsborough County Historical Commission: At its June 18 meeting the Commission discussed its historical markers program, and ordered a marker for the Fort Brooke cannon on the University of Tampa campus. The Tampa Historical Society, it was announced, will place a marker at the Francis Bellamy home. He wrote the Allegiance to the Flag. L. Glenn Westfall and Don Barnes described to Commission members their activities on the Historic American Building Survey project in Ybor City, sponsored by the National Park Service and the Florida Bicentennial Commission. Members of the Commission are Mrs. Harry L. Weedon, chairman, Margaret L. Chapman, Mrs. Buford W. Council, Dr. Thomas B. Mitchell, Judge Harry G. McDonald, Anthony P. Pizzo, James F. Taylor, Jr., Captain John

D. Ware, Mrs. Agnes R. Worthington, and Theodore Lesley, county historian.

Lake City Historical Society: After a county-wide survey, a committee designated the Philip Moore House, built in 1870, as the oldest in Columbia County. The George Cline House standing in Lake City on Davis Street, is also of this era. Other prizes were awarded as part of the drive to stimulate interest in local history. Mrs. Netti Ozaki is president of the Society.

Mount Dora Historical Society: The Society's activities in establishing Chautauqua Park as the site of the nineteenth-century South Florida Chautauqua were described in a recent issue of *The Chautauquan Daily*. The Chautauqua met for the first time on the property of Dr. W. P. Henry, between Lake Dora and Lake Gertrude, April 5, 1887. The Mount Dora Lakes and Hills Garden Club is landscaping the park.

Okeechobee County Historical Society: Twenty charter members met in Okeechobee on September 20, 1973, to organize a four-county historical society. Mrs. Hiram Raulerson was elected president. The Society hopes to secure a school building for a museum. Mrs. Addie Holmes Emerson and Mrs. Vivian Davis of Fort Pierce helped organize the group. In addition to Mrs. Raulerson, Glenda Davis is secretary and Marilyn Bass is treasurer. A second meeting was scheduled for October 11.

Orange County Historical Commission: The offer by the John Young Museum to erect a historical museum as a unit in the complex in Loch Haven Park is under consideration. The historical museum, begun in 1942 by the Antiquarians (a group of ladies interested in antiques), was taken over by the Historical Commission in 1957. The Commission organized the Orange County Historical Society in 1971, and its members serve as Society directors. The Commission has been publishing the "Orange County Historical Quarterly" since 1959. Its latest issue includes articles on the Central Florida Civic Theater and the West Central School.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: Mrs. Bonita R. Swann of Wauchula spoke at the September 21 meeting on the history of the Valley. Dr. Thaddeus M. Moseley, III, of Jacksonville, and Carl D. King, of Bradenton, will speak at the November program meetings. Meetings are scheduled for the Assembly Building, Pioneer Park, Zolfo Springs, Florida.

Pensacola Historical Society: At its meeting, September 17, 1973, at the Historical Museum, Mrs. William R. Turner described the development and future plans of the North Hill Preservation District. The Museum celebrated its thirteenth annual anniversary August 15, and Miss Lelia Abercrombie, Curator Emeritus, was honored for her devotion and contributions to the museum. A painting, "Consecration of Christ Church, 1838" by Herbert Rudeen of Pensacola, was unveiled. The painting was sponsored through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Blanchard.

Pinellas County Historical Commission: At its June 20 meeting, E. Reinhold Rogers, Jr., chairman, described his two-column article in the *Clearwater Sun* about the fort at Fort DeSoto Park and about his recent talks on Pinellas County history. The Historical Museum has received a collection of books and journals from the family of Lew B. Brown of St. Petersburg.

Safety Harbor Area Historical Society: Tim Baughman, consultant to the Florida Board of Archives, History and Records Management, described a survey of historic buildings and sites which he is coordinating for Pinellas County, at the September 26 program meeting. A drive is underway to collect historical items and pictures for a history of Safety Harbor and the area. Officers of the Society are Gustave A. Nelson, president; Newman Hoopingarner, vice-president; Alva L. Jones, secretary; and James F. Morgan, treasurer. Directors are Maybelle Lister, Restituto Rios, Bill Edson, Alva Jones, Edna Nelson, and James Miller.

St. Lucie Historical Society: A book review of *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal* was presented by Olive Dame Peterson at the August 21 meeting. Marion Ramsey of Fort Pierce spoke at the

September 18 meeting, and he described the historical development of the harbor and port since the close of World War I. Mr. Ramsey also showed slides and a Fox Movietone News film from the period. Isabelle McClintock is president of the Society.

Southwest Florida Historical Society: Elinore Dormer spoke on "Sanibel and Captiva— Our Very Special Islands" at a meeting, October 12. Lawrence E. Will of Belle Glade is scheduled as the November program speaker, and he will describe Okeechobee waterways and hurricanes. The latest issue of the *Caloosa Quarterly*, published by the Society, announces the gift by Ernest M. Hart of Tampa of a valuable collection of photographs of Fort Myers people and places dating to 1913. The Society has also acquired seventeen colored slides of Punta Rassa. A short sketch of Abraham Charles Myers was also included in the publication.

Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society: The Safford House and other Tarpon Springs area residences and public buildings are being studied for possible inclusion on the National Register for Historic Places. Photographs, newspapers, and books have been added to the Society's collection. A speakers bureau will supply program needs of local civic clubs and other organizations.

West Pasco Historical Society: Organized in May 1973, officers are Julia Obenreder, president; Della Shaver, vice-president; Ida Brunner, treasurer; Lois Neubrand, secretary. Members of the board of directors are Roscoe Henderson, C. A. Clayton, Richard Milbauer, and Dr. Wilfred T. Neil.

West Volusia Historical Society: Dr. John E. Johns, president of the Florida Historical Society, was the speaker at a meeting of the Society in the DeLand Museum. Brinley Carter is serving as president of this newly-formed organization, and other officers are Mrs. A. H. Gaede, vice-president; Pamela Pierson Rintz, secretary; S. Dick Johnston, treasurer; and Mrs. Millaine O'Brien, executive secretary. Approximately fifty members are enrolled. The first project of the society will be an exhibit featuring part of the Rich Cabin, the first permanent home in DeLand. An

effort will be made also to locate and mark the oldest house in the West Volusia area.

Notes

Allen Morris, Clerk, Florida House of Representatives, Tallahassee is assembling material for publication of a history of the Florida Legislature. His need is for photographs, and he is interested in any pictures, especially those showing all or any part of the chambers of the Florida Senate and House and the Capital, and photographs of members of any Florida Legislature. The pictures can be copied, and, upon request, the original will be returned. Otherwise, it will be preserved in the Florida Photographic Archives in the names of the contributors. Responses should be addressed to Mr. Morris, House of Representatives, Tallahassee, Florida 32304.

Dr. Peter Klingman, professor of social sciences, Daytona Beach Community College, is writing a history of the Republican Party of Florida. He would welcome any information or data (letters, diaries, etc.) relating to the Florida Republican Party from its formation in 1867 to the present. Professor Klingman is desirous of interviewing individuals who have played a role in the party's activities on the local and state level in the twentieth century. One may write him at 629 Winston Drive, Holly Hill, Florida 32017.

OBITUARY

Mary Isabel MacRae

Mary Isabel MacRae, one of the most devoted members of the Florida Historical Society, died at the Citrus Memorial Hospital in Inverness September 16, 1973.

Mrs. MacRae was a longtime resident of Homosassa and was widely known for her activities in the field of historic preservation. She was past chairman of the Citrus County Historical Society, an organization which she helped organize almost single-handedly. Mrs. MacRae was credited with doing more than any other single individual to preserve the historic Yulee Sugar Mill in Homosassa. The American Association for State and Local History recognized her more than fifty years of exemplary action in the causes of Homosassa, Citrus County, and Florida history when they presented her with an Award of Merit in 1971. She was one of eight individuals in the nation who at that time received this recognition.

Mrs. MacRae had been an active member of the Florida Historical Society for more than three decades, and had attended more of the annual meetings of the Society than any other person. She was recognized for her activities on behalf of the Society at the convention at Port St. Lucie, Florida, May 1973. Mrs. MacRae had served as a member of the Board of the Florida Historical Society. She was also a member of the Board of the Central Florida Community College, Ocala, and in recognition of her work, the College annually presents the Mary MacRae History Award for the best essay on some aspect of Florida history.

A native of Plymouth, England, she settled in Homosassa in 1914. She and her family operated MacRae's Cottages there for many years. She was a member of St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, Inverness. Mrs. MacRae was interested in the life of David Levy Yulee, and she collected much primary source data on Senator Yulee and members of his family. Mrs. MacRae's many friends throughout Florida will feel her death as a deep personal loss.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

St. Lucie Hilton Hotel
Port St. Lucie
1973

P R O G R A M

THURSDAY, MAY 10

MEETING OF THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS,
8:00 P.M.

FRIDAY, MAY 11

REGISTRATION: St. Lucie Hilton Convention Hall, 9:00 A.M.
to 5:00 P.M.

Morning Session

Chairman: James C. Craig, *Jacksonville*

“Josiah Walls and the Black Tactics of
Race in Post-Civil War Florida”

Peter D. Klingman, *Daytona Beach Community College*

“Race, Politics and Education: the 1904 Election Defeat of
William N. Sheats, ‘Florida’s Little Giant of Education’”

Arthur O. White, *University of Florida*

“Raiford and Abercrombie: Pensacola’s Premier
Antebellum Manufacturer”

Lucius F. Ellsworth, *University of West Florida*

Commentator: Edward C. Williamson, *Auburn University*

Afternoon Session

Chairman: William M. Goza, *Clearwater*

“Eldorado, Indian River Style”

Jerry W. Weeks, *Palm Beach Atlantic College*

“W. H. ‘Bill’ Brown’s Boat Landing, 1901-1908:
Profile of a Florida Indian Trading Post”

Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *Florida Atlantic University*

“The Florida Seminoles, 1900-1914”

James W. Covington, *University of Tampa*

Commentator: Charlton W. Tebeau, *University of Miami*

Evening Session

“Song of the Indian River”

Historical Drama

Mrs. Ada Coats Williams, director

SATURDAY, MAY 12

Morning Session

Chairman: James R. Knott, *West Palm Beach*

“A Revision of the Menéndez Conquest, 1565-1577”

Eugene Lyon, *Indian River Community College*

“Underwater Archaeology of Florida’s Coastal Waters”

Wilburn Cockrell, *Division of Archives, History, and Records
Management, Florida Department of State*

Luncheon and Business Meeting

Invocation: The Reverend Billy Osceola, Brighton Reservation

American Association for State and Local History Awards,
presented by Samuel Proctor: Certificate of Commenda-
tion to J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida State University*;
Awards of Merit to Charlton W. Tebeau, *University of
Miami*; Walter Hellier, Sr., *Fort Pierce*; and Miss
Thelma Boltin, *White Springs*.

Award For Excellence in Presentation of Florida History in the
New Media, presented by Milton D. Jones, to E. Reinhold
Rogers, Jr., *Clearwater*.

Reception and Annual Banquet

Invocation: The Reverend John Harris, pastor, First Baptist Church, Fort Pierce

Presentation of Awards:

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History,
presented by Samuel Proctor, to E. Ashby Hammond,
University of Florida

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award, presented by
William M. Goza, to Wayne Flynt, *Samford University*

Young People's Book Award, presented by Charlton Tebeau,
to Marjory Bartlett Sanger, *Winter Park*

Address : "The Usefulness of Useless Knowledge," Dr. Frank G. Slaughter

M I N U T E S

The semi-annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened by President John E. Johns at 8:10 P.M. on May 10, 1973, at the St. Lucie Hilton Hotel, Port St. Lucie, Florida. Attending were Milton D. Jones, Thelma Peters, Alva Jones, Mary Jane Kuhl, Samuel Proctor, Audrey Broward, Donald W. Curl, David Forshay, Byron S. Hollinshead, Eugene Lyon, John Mahon, Sister Elizabeth Ann Rice, Jerrell H. Shofner, Norman Simons, Charlton Tebeau, and James C. Craig. Dr. Jones reported that he had received a letter of regret from Dr. Robert Spiro, but that no other absent director had written or called. It was again noted that if any director is absent from two successive meetings without notification his seat will be declared vacant, and the vacancy will be filled by board action.

Mrs. Kuhl, executive secretary, reported that a financial report was not yet available, but it will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. She reported the following balances on hand as of March 31, 1973:

Father Jerome Memorial Fund	\$ 3,355.69
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund	14,676.72
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Fund	2,886.34

Young People's Book Award Fund	207.48
Savings Account	13,745.42
Checking Account	1,771.38
	<hr/>
Total	\$36,643.03

Mrs. Kuhl reported on membership on behalf of Captain John Ware, state membership chairman. The total membership as of March 31, 1973 was 1,719, a net gain of nine over the previous year. An analysis for cancellation of membership showed that twelve were deceased; thirty-three left the state; 135 were delinquent on their dues; and eighty-two cancelled for other reasons. Many of the latter included exchanges with other scholarly publications. The board had instituted a policy of notifying members only once after their membership is due.

Dr. Proctor noted that while membership is declining, costs of operating the Society and publishing the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are increasing. Dr. Forshay suggested increasing the number of corporate memberships, and Dr. Curl noted that an affiliate membership through local societies might be a way of gaining members. Dr. Mahon moved that delinquent members be contacted by directors in the individual's area, and that the executive secretary supply such a list for action by the appropriate director or officer. The motion was approved. Mr. Jones moved that each director charge himself with the responsibility of bringing in new members or saving old ones and to report at the next meeting. The motion was passed. Dr. Johns suggested giving an award to the director recruiting the most members.

Dr. Johns reported that a planning conference to organize a confederation of local and area historical societies would be held in the fall. This would be followed by a workshop devoted to the problems and needs of the local groups.

Dr. Tebeau stated that each of the Society's special funds should have a committee working to increase the endowment. Dr. Johns and Mr. Jones agreed to prepare a brochure showing how tax exempt gifts and bequests can be given to the Society. A note to this effect will also be published in forthcoming issues of the *Quarterly*. Ms. Broward pointed out that an outline of duties for the directors would be helpful.

Dr. Proctor reported on the successful progress of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. E. O. Painter Printing Company of DeLeon

Springs is the publisher of the journal. Dr. Proctor noted the continuing support of the University of Florida, and he expressed his special thanks to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Dr. Proctor emphasized again the need for a semi-annual newsletter to include the material that now appears in the History News section of the *Quarterly*. Dr. Shofner suggested that he might be able to edit such a publication. Dr. Johns volunteered to investigate the problems and cost of printing.

Dr. Shofner, on behalf of his committee— Ms. Broward, Mr. Jones, and Dr. Proctor— reported that the index for volumes 36 through 50 of the *Quarterly* was nearing completion and that the manuscript is being typed. Dr. Shofner reported on the cost estimates that he had received from two printers, but a final price will have to be deferred until the manuscript is ready. The Board had earlier authorized \$750 for the preparation of the manuscript. Dr. Tebeau moved that the index committee be allowed to proceed with all arrangements for printing of the index at a cost not to exceed \$5,000. This money will come from the Julien Yonge Publication Fund. This motion passed.

Dr. Proctor reported that the St. Augustine Historical Society again wished to reprint the Osceola number of the *Quarterly*. Dr. Tebeau moved that Dr. Proctor be authorized to negotiate with the St. Augustine Historical Society to reprint the Osceola volume with a royalty of ten cents or ten per cent (whichever is greater) per retail price of the volume and that a sale of the surplus numbers held in Florida Historical Society inventory also be considered in the arrangement. This motion was approved.

Dr. Peters reported on the inventory of Florida Historical Society artifacts. She had located some material, and she asked the directors to make available any correspondence pertaining to this matter. It was felt that all property belonging to the Florida Historical Society should be located and properly identified.

Dr. Johns read an invitation from Dr. William Warren Rogers inviting the group to hold its annual meeting in Tallahassee in May 1974. Dr. Proctor asked that representatives of the local arrangements committee meet with the Board at its mid-winter session at which time a full report on all activities would be made. He also recommended that the program committee report at that time.

Mr. William M. Goza, chairman, Mr. Lyon and Dr. Curl were appointed to the resolutions committee.

Mr. Lyon announced the need of a new index of source materials relating to colonial Florida which are in Spanish archives, libraries, and depositories. Mr. Jones moved that the Florida Historical Society inform the Secretary of State of the Society's interest in saving this Florida material, and that Eugene Lyon be designated as the liaison person representing the Society for this purpose. The motion passed.

Dr. Proctor reported on the progress of the Panton-Leslie Papers project. The Society is a member of the Consortium with the University of Florida and the University of West Florida. Copies of the Greenslade and Cruzat Papers have been made available to Dr. William Coker, editor of the project.

Dr. Proctor also noted that twenty-five facsimile volumes of rare, out-of-print Floridiana are being published by the University of Florida under the auspices of the Florida Bicentennial Commission. He also called attention to the Bicentennial Commission's Symposium, "Eighteenth Century Florida and the Caribbean," to be held June 1-2, at the Deauville Hotel, Miami Beach.

Mr. Jones commended Mrs. Kuhl for the attractive convention program which she prepared. He also recommended that the Award of Merit for Excellence in Presentation of Florida History in the News Media be discontinued with the 1973 presentation. This was agreed to.

Dr. Proctor announced that the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Award for the best article in the *Quarterly* would go to Dr. E. A. Hammond for his article, "Spanish Fisheries of Charlotte Harbor," which appeared in the April 1973 number of the *Quarterly*. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for the best book on Florida history would go to Dr. Wayne Flynt of Samford University for his book, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive*. The Young People's Book Award was won by Ms. Marjory Bartlett Sanger for *Billy Bartram and His Green World*.

The meeting was adjourned at approximately 9:30 P.M.

Minutes of the Business Meeting

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society

was convened at the St. Lucie Hilton Hotel, Port St. Lucie, Florida, at 12:15 P.M., May 12, 1973 by Dr. John E. Johns, president. The Reverend Billy Osceola, Brighton Reservation, gave the invocation in his native language and also in English. Dr. Johns welcomed the members and their guests. He called special attention to Mrs. Mary MacRae of Homosassa who has attended almost every meeting of the Florida Historical Society for three decades. He also pointed out that the Florida Historical Society is the oldest cultural organization in Florida.

Dr. Johns asked for corrections or additions to the minutes of the 1972 annual business meeting as published in the October 1972 *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The minutes were approved as published.

Dr. Samuel Proctor presented the following awards from the American Association for State and Local History:

Certificate of Commendation to J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University, for his book, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (University of Georgia Press, 1971).

Award of Merit to Charlton W. Tebeau for his book, *A History of Florida* (University of Miami Press, 1971).

Award of Merit to Walter Hellier, Sr., Fort Pierce, for his work in the preservation and interpretation of the history of the Indian River area.

Award of Merit to Miss Thelma Boltin of White Springs, for her outstanding contributions to the preservation and popularization of Florida folkways and folk music. (This presentation was made to Miss Boltin at the Friday morning program session).

Milton Jones presented the annual award, an engraved plaque, to E. Reinhold Rogers, Jr., of the *Clearwater Sun* for Excellence in Presentation of Florida History in the News Media.

Mrs. Mary Jane Kuhl, executive secretary, presented the Society's financial report. Captain John D. Ware, membership chairman, reported on the campaign to increase the membership. He asked every member to secure one new member. He noted a total membership of 1,719 as of March 31, 1973. President Johns presented a plaque to Captain Ware on behalf of the Society in appreciation for his work to the Society over the years.

Dr. Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported that the journal had enjoyed a successful year of publica-

tion. He thanked his editorial board— William Warren Rogers, John Mahon, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Luis Arana, and Jerrell H. Shofner; Miss Elizabeth Alexander and her staff in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Dr. Thomas Graham, his editorial assistant; and Gerald Butterfield, of Tallahassee, chairman of publicity. Mr. Butterfield prepares stories geared to a local area and distributes them to appropriate newspapers. Dr. Proctor asked those present to aid in acting as contacts with their media. He also requested those present to send the news of their local groups to him at the *Quarterly* mailing address so that this material could be published in the History News section of the *Quarterly*. He stated that newspaper clippings or copies of the secretary's minutes would be sufficient. He noted that the index for volumes 36 through 50 of the *Quarterly* was in preparation. Dr. Jerrell Shofner is chairman of the committee in charge of this.

Dr. Michael Gannon, chairman of the nominating committee, presented the following slate to serve three-year terms as directors:

District 1 -----	John Griffin, St. Augustine
District 2 -----	Mrs. Edward C. Grafton, Coral Gables
District 3 -----	Mrs. Jessie Porter Newton, Key West
District 4 -----	Mrs. Addie Emerson, Fort Pierce
At-large -----	Judge James R. Knott, West Palm Beach

There were no nominations from the floor, and the secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the slate as presented.

President Johns announced that the seventy-second annual meeting would be held in Tallahassee on May 3-4, 1974. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, University of Florida, and Dr. Jerrel Shofner, Florida Technological University, are program chairmen. Dr. William Warren Rogers, Florida State University, is local arrangements chairman. The president thanked all those who had contributed to the success of this convention, and paid special tribute to Mrs. Ada Coats Williams for the presentation of her historical drama, "Song of the Indian River," which was performed May 11.

Dr. Johns announced that the Board of Directors had authorized establishment of an executive committee to oversee the Society's business between board sessions. He asked members to contact the officers or directors from their respective regions if

they had any questions or needed assistance. He announced that the Society will establish a confederation of local historical societies and commissions. He explained the purposes of the several special accounts of the Society. Income from these accounts can be used only for the purposes for which they were created, but Dr. Johns called for contributions to the Society's endowments. The Florida Historical Society is incorporated and contributions are tax-exempt. He also called for an accelerated membership drive and introduced Dr. John Mahon as the newly-appointed membership chairman. He pledged the Society's cooperation with the Florida Bicentennial Commission's state program, and he introduced Mr. N. E. Bill Miller, executive director of the Commission

William M. Goza, chairman of the resolutions committee, proposed the following resolutions for consideration:

IN MEMORIAM

BE IT RESOLVED, that the members of the Florida Historical Society express their sorrow and sense of loss at the deaths of those members who have passed on since the last meeting, including:

Mr. J. M. Angueira, Miami
Dr. Doak S. Campbell, Tallahassee
Mr. Frank J. Falsone, Tampa
Mr. Roy Cline Hallman, Panama City
Mr. Bryan Hanks, Fort Worth, Texas
Miss Nina S. Hawkins, St. Augustine
Miss Nancy A. Lewis, Lake Wales
Reverend Eugene L. Nixon, Mt. Dora
Mr. W. F. Shaw, South Miami
Mrs. Dan B. Smith, Pensacola
Mrs. Z. Spinks, Leesburg
Mr. W. S. Zschach, Clearwater

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that special thanks be extended to Dr. E. Ashby Hammond and Dr. Thelma Peters, who served as program chairpersons, and to the participants for an interesting and well-rounded program.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society expresses its thanks, congratulations, and appreciation to Ada Coats Williams and Laura Hewitt Whipple, the St. Andrews Carollers, the cast, and the musicians for their colorful presentation "Song of the Indian River;"

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society extends its grateful appreciation to the Area Historical Commission and its member societies, the St. Lucie Historical Society, the Martin County Historical Society, and the two statutory historical commissions; to Judge Alto Adams, Sr., chairman of the Area Historical Commission; to Mrs. L. F. Emerson and Mrs. Clifton B. Davis, convention chairwomen; to Dr. Herman A. Heise, president of the Indian River Community College for its sponsorship of the convention; to Judge and Mrs. Alto Adams, Sr., and to Mr. and Mrs. O. C. Peterson who were hosts to the Board of Directors; to Mrs. Ada Coats Williams for her fine work in coordinating the convention for Indian River Community College; and to the Port St. Lucie Hilton in appreciation of superior accommodations.

Mr. Goza also read a list of local businesses who had contributed to the success of the convention. He then moved for adoption of the resolutions. The motion was approved.

Dr. Johns announced the plans for the afternoon tour of the area museums and the time for the reception and banquet. The business session was then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Alva Jones

NEW MEMBERS

April 1, 192-March 31, 1973

Dr. Richard Adicks, Oviedo
James M. Allen, Miami
Mrs. Charlie Ammons, Tampa
Mrs. Allen Anderson, St. Petersburg
**Cecil Q. Anderson, Conley, Georgia
George Anderson, Marianna
Richard Arduengo, Tampa
Mrs. Roger W. Arnold, Largo
David E. Bailey, Plant City
Dr. Miriam Bailey, Marianna
Mrs. Wilson L. Baker, Tampa
Roger A. Barker, Orlando
Connie Jo Beane, Tallahassee

Mrs. Horace E. Bentley, South Daytona
 Dr. M. H. Bigelow, Port Charlotte
 John F. Bolt, New Smyrna Beach
 Dr. Jack H. Bowen, Jacksonville
 Luella Bowman, West Palm Beach
 Paul L. Bridges, Jacksonville
 D. F. Briggs, Tavares
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 Joyce M. Bryan, Gainesville
 Bert Bryson, Tallahassee
 Mrs. Henry H. Buckman, III, Fort Lauderdale
 Gerald A. Butterfield, Tallahassee
 Phyllis A. Capen, Port Orange
 Hubert W. Carcaba, St. Augustine
 Floyd A. Cardell, Jacksonville
 Mayor John L. Caron, Cocoa Beach
 J. C. Cassels, Jacksonville
 W. H. Cates, Tallahassee
 Robert E. Cauthen, Leesburg
 Lawton Chiles, Washington, D. C.
 *Harold R. Clark, Jacksonville
 W. A. Cockrell, Tallahassee
 Dr. W. S. Coker, Pensacola
 Joseph Colville, Jensen Beach
 *Mr. and Mrs. William J. Comer, Tampa
 Patricia D. Creel, Greenacres City
 Lewis H. Cresse, Jr., Cocoa Beach
 Con Crowley, Orlando
 Captain Edwin E. Crusoe, IV, Summerland Key
 Cecil B. Currey, Tampa
 Norman H. Cutson, St. Petersburg
 Charles L. Dantzman, Arcadia
 June N. Daryman, Miami
 Ray F. Davis, Ft. Lauderdale
 Donald E. Dean, Florala, Alabama
 Daniel D. Diefenbach, N. Miami Beach
 Lucy Sprigg Dorsey, Orlando
 Francis K. Drew, Atlanta, Georgia
 Dr. Isabella M. Drew, Loch Arbour, New Jersey
 Mitchel Drew, Quincy
 Mrs. Frances R. Duncan, Fort George Island
 Dr. James W. Dunn, Brandon
 B. R. Dunford, Tampa
 E. C. Dunning, Fort Myers
 Mrs. Jesse C. Durham, Tallahassee
 Mrs. W. H. Eason, Jacksonville
 Mrs. Aileen V. Ellis, Eglin Airforce Base
 *Michel G. Emmanuel, Tampa
 Howard S. England, Key West
 Elise Tomlin Estes, Jacksonville
 Sunny Fader, Miami
 Margaret P. Fagen, Fort Walton Beach
 **Mrs. Paul S. Fensom, Port Saint Joe
 Mrs. L. R. Ferrell, Albany, Georgia
 Mrs. G. B. Fishback, Orlando
 Alice Fitch, Tarpon Springs
 Jane H. Fleetwood, Tallahassee
 Mrs. Carl Floyd, Haina City
 Mark E. Fretwell, St. Augustine

General Thomas Fuller, Gainesville
Milton Galbraith, Jr., Tallahassee
Milton A. Gailbraith, Clearwater
William Q. Gandy, Marietta, Georgia
Richard J. Gardner, Quincy
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R. U. Gladwin, Fort Pierce
Walter P. Glover, Hialeah
Julian Granberry, Rochester, New York
Barbara Greene, APO, New York
Albert S. Griffin, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
W. E. Grissett, Jr., Jacksonville
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Mayor Chuck Hall, Miami Beach
C. H. Harris, Jacksonville
Clay Harris, Tampa
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Barbara Hawkins, North Fort Myers
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Mrs. David B. Lancaster, Winter Park
Richard C. Lee, Riviera Beach
Rabbi Sidney M. Lefkowitz, Jacksonville
Mrs. Thomas W. Lester, Jacksonville
Senator Gerald A. Lewis, Miami
Dr. John L. Lincoln, Tallahassee
Mayor John Lomelo, Jr., Sunrise
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 **Walter Mann, Winter Haven
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 Richard T. Martin, Tallahassee
 Mrs. Mark Max, Miami
 *Sal C. Mellon, Fort Myers
 Joseph Meux, Jacksonville
 John Mikell, Palatka
 Lula F. Miller, Jacksonville
 Virginia Miller, Naples
 Joseph McD. Mitchell, Lake Alfred
 Mrs. Charles, F. Moehle, Merritt Island
 James W. Moody, Pensacola
 Dr. John H. Moore, Tallahassee
 *Dow W. Mosley, Pensacola
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 Margaret M. Patch, New Smyrna Beach
 Joseph M. Perry, Orange Park
 Mrs. Charles E. Peterson, Panama City
 Judge Charles M. Phillips, Jr., Clearwater
 George E. Pozzetta, Gainesville
 Annie Pritchett, Perry
 Mrs. David B. Putnam, Fort Pierce
 Representative Ted Randell, Fort Meyers
 Robert Lyn Rainard, Tampa
 Mrs. Mary M. Raines, Lubbock, Texas
 F. Blair Reeves, Gainesville
 Edward B. Russell, Elberton, Georgia
 Ireve Scanlon, Jacksonville
 Helen B. Schwartz, Cape Coral
 Benjamin R. Scoates, Jacksonville
 Joseph H. B. Scofield, Cape Coral
 James Shafer, N. Miami
 James E. Shields, Key West
 *Gordon N. Simons, Gulf Breeze
 Bette P. Skates, Sanford
 Mr. and Mrs. David A. Smith, Cocoa
 Margaret Dougherty-Smith, Jacksonville
 Robert A. Smith, Gainesville
 ***Leonard Spielvogel, Merritt Island
 Emily Spofford, Miami
 Richard J. Stanaback, Dade City
 Ernest Staney, Hialeah
 Robert H. Steinback, St. Augustine
 Mrs. J. E. Stewart, Orlando

- Patricia Stenberg, Lutz
 *Louise K. Stewart, Orlando
 Douglas Stowers, Riviera Beach
 Carl J. Strang, III, Winter Haven
 Peola I. Stuart, Orlando
 Leora M. Sutton, Pensacola
 Sidney H. Taylor, DeLand
 Albin C. Thompson, Fernandina Beach
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 T. Howell Tiller, Pensacola
 Glen B. Taco, New Orleans, Louisiana
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 Lucia M. Tryon, Pensacola
 John Turnbill, Clearwater
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 Carleton L. Weidmeyer, Clearwater
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 Jim West, West Palm Beach
 Cecil B. Wester, Gainesville
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 Dolores D. Wickham, Homosassa Springs
 Ada Coats Williams, Fort Pierce
 Mrs. Chine H. Williams, Orlando
 Edwin Williams, Prattville, Alabama
 Isiah Williams, Jacksonville
 *William C. Wing, Wildwood
 Fred F. Womble, Tallahassee
 Mary E. Young, Jupiter
 Florence W. Ziegler, Greenwood
- Apalachicola Municipal Library, Apalachicola
 Clearwater Public Library, Clearwater
 G. H. Curtiss Elementary School, Miami Springs
 Cutler Ridge Elementary School, Miami
 Deerfield Beach Middle School, Deerfield Beach
 Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee
 Exceptional Child Education, West Palm Beach
 Florida Junior College of Jacksonville, South Campus, Jacksonville
 Fort Lauderdale Adult Center (Richard M. Pauletta), Fort Lauderdale
 Georgia Southwestern College, Americus, Georgia
 Helm-Cravens Library, Bowling Green, Kentucky
 Hialeah High Library, Hialeah
 Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana

Manatee County Library System, Bradenton
 National Conference of Christians and Jews (Frank J. Magrath), Miami
 Norlund Junior High Library, Miami
 Palm Beach County Public Library System, West Palm Beach
 Parkwood Heights Elementary School, Jacksonville
 Pensacola Junior College (John C. Gainey), Pensacola
 Pensacola Junior College (Harold D. Harden), Pensacola
 Pinellas Park Junior High School, Pinellas Park
 W. M. Raines Senior High School, Jacksonville
 Ruth Rains, Cross City
 James S. Rickards Middle School, Ft. Lauderdale
 Southern Missionary College, Collegedale, Tennessee
 Mrs. Marjorie Stanley (Dade County School Board), Miami
 Stonewall Jackson Elementary School, Jacksonville
 University of Texas at Arlington, Library, Arlington, Texas
 White Memorial Library, Gainesville
 Windy Hill Elementary School, Jacksonville
 S. W. Wolfson Senior High School, Jacksonville

Lake County Historical Society, Tavares
 Loxahatchee Historical Society, Jupiter
 Maitland Historical Society, Maitland
 Peace River Valley Historical Society, Arcadia

*Fellow member

**Life member

***Contributing member

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

Books, monographs, and other published material were received from Mrs. Carleton R. Sabin; Thomas H. R. Neal, Knoxville, Tennessee; Carlos Romero Barcelo; Centennial Committee, Pierce City, Missouri; Carmen Mesa, manager, Spanish National Tourist Office, St. Augustine; Mrs. Carnice J. Groves, Charleston, South Carolina; Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville; Joe E. Hutchison, Panama City; Dr. Frederick Ebersson, St. Petersburg; and Marian Godown, Fort Myers, Florida.

Back issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* from Ms. Lula Miller, Jacksonville, and Donald R. Harkness, Tampa.

Builders nameplate from the Liberty Ship *Andrew Turnbull*, from H. James Turnbull, New York City.

Florida postcards from John T. Edwards, Charleston Heights, South Carolina.

Eighteen books were added to the Library's collection from the Father Jerome Memorial Fund.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 1, 1972 - March 31, 1973

TREASURER'S REPORT

Balance, April 1, 1972 -----			\$38,956.85
Location of Balances:			
University State Bank (Tampa) -----	\$ 5,238.68		
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville) -----	13,075.08		
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville) -----	2,944.30		
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan -----	3,159.71		
University of South Florida Account No. 95003 -----	80.74		
Petty Cash -----	8.59		
Volusia County property -----	120.00	\$24,627.10	
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:			
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville) -----	\$13,893.35		
Pennzoil United (thirty shares) ----	200.00		
Middle South Utilities (six shares)	126.00		
Bayrock Growth Fund, Inc. (Florida Growth Fund) (sixteen shares) -----	110.40	\$14,329.75	
			\$38,956.85
Receipts:			
Memberships:			
Annual -----	\$ 7,590.00		
Student -----	10.00		
Fellow -----	1,125.00		
Life -----	450.00		
Historical Societies -----	225.00		
Contributing -----	150.00		
Libraries -----	2,355.00	\$11,905.00	
Other Receipts:			
Quarterly sales -----	\$ 891.70		
Postage and xeroxing -----	46.38		
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn. dividends -----	670.34		
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. dividends -----	142.04		
Father Jerome Memorial Fund: Contributions -----	82.50		
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn. dividends -----	163.48		
Annual convention (registration, banquet, and luncheon tickets) ----	850.45		
Transfer of Funds:			
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Thompson Memorial Award) to University State Bank -----	200.00	\$ 3,046.89	
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:			
Pennzoil United dividend -----	\$ 40.00		
Middle South Utilities dividend ----	6.48		
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. dividends -----	714.01		
Royalties:			
Arno Press, Inc. (for <i>Quarterly</i> article reprint) -----	22.88		

Junior Book Fund			
(Charlton W. Tebeau) -----	200.00		
dividends -----	7.48	\$ 4,037.74	\$15,942.74
Total Receipts: -----			\$54,899.59

Disbursements:

Florida Historical Quarterly:

Printing -----	\$ 8,215.46		
Copyrights -----	34.00		
H. P. Foley, Co. -----	132.09		
Rinaldi Printing -----	315.95		
Russell Distributing Co. -----	140.36		
Editor's expense -----	500.00		
P. O. Box rental, Gainesville ----	27.20		
University of Florida Teaching Resources Center (photographs) -----	12.66	\$ 9,377.72	

Annual Convention:

Rinaldi Printing Company (programs) -----	\$ 111.28		
Postage for convention -----	62.06		
Robert Meyer Hotel -----	277.44		
Mary lane Kuhl (annual meeting expenses) -----	98.34		
George Levy (presidential plaque)	13.52		
Jacksonville Historical Society ---	166.45	\$ 729.09	

Other Disbursements:

Petty cash-postage -----	13.64		
Insurance -----	45.00		
Rembert W. Patrick Book Award	100.00		
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Award -----	100.00		
University of South Florida Ac- count No. 95003 (postage, telephone, and supplies) -----	188.20		
Supplies -----	281.19		
Cash (postage) -----	362.54		
Income tax preparation (C. P. Saclarides) -----	35.00		
Property tax (Volusia County) -----	2.86		
Mickler's Floridiana (Father Jerome Collection) -----	127.66		
Department of State (corporate tax fee) -----	2.00		
Transfer of Funds (from Thomp- son Memorial Fund to Uni- versity State Bank) -----	200.00		
Panton Leslie Publications Project	98.60		
Postage -----	2.45		
Historical Association of Southern Florida (back issues of the <i>Quarterly</i>) -----	415.03		
Quarterman Publications -----	15.00	\$ 1,989.17	\$12,095.98

Net Worth ----- \$42,803.61

Location of Balances:

University State Bank (Tampa) -----	\$ 7,283.02
University of South Florida Account No. 95003 -----	92.54
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville) -----	13,745.42

Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville) (Thompson Memorial Fund) -----	2,886.34		
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Father Jerome Fund) -----	3,355.69		
University State Bank (Tampa) (Junior Book Fund) -----	207.48		
Volusia County property -----	120.00	\$27,690.49	
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund: Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville) -----	\$14,676.72		
Pennzoil United (thirty shares) -----	200.00		
Middle South Utilities (six shares)	126.00		
Bayrock Growth Fund (Florida Growth Fund) (sixteen shares)	110.40	\$15,113.12	
Balance, March 31, 1973 -----			\$42,803.61

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1973

- | | | |
|------------|--|-----------------------|
| Oct. 11-14 | National Trust for Historic Preservation | Cleveland, Ohio |
| Nov. 1-4 | National Oral History Colloquium | West Point, N.Y. |
| Nov. 7-10 | Southern Historical Association | Atlanta, Ga. |
| Dec. 27-30 | American Historical Association | San Francisco, Calif. |

1974

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| Feb. 8-9 | Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference | Pensacola |
| March
22-23 | Third Annual Florida Bicentennial Symposium | Florida Technological University
Orlando |
| March
29-30 | Florida College Teachers of History | Florida State University
Tallahassee |
| April
17-20 | Organization of American Historians | Denver, Colorado |
| May 3-4 | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY— 72nd ANNUAL MEETING | Tallahassee |

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

Title of Publication: The Florida Historical Quarterly
 Frequency of Issue: 4 times per year
 Location of Known Office of Publication: University of South Florida Library,
 Tampa, Florida 33620
 Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers:
 University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620
 Publisher: Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library,
 Tampa, Florida 33620
 Editor: Dr. Samuel Proctor, P.O. Box 14045 Univ. Station, Gainesville, Florida
 32601
 Manager Editor: Dr. Samuel Proctor. P.O. Box 14045 University Station,
 Gainesville, Florida 32601
 Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual Number of Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
Total No. Copies Printed	1837	1850
Paid Circulation		
(Mail Subscriptions)	1686	1672
Total Paid Circulation	1686	1672
Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or other Means		
Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free Copies	0	0
Copies Distributed to News Agents, But not Sold	0	0
Total Distribution	1686	1672
Office Use, Left-Over, Unac- counted, Spoiled after Print- ing	151	178
Total	1837	1850

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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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. The annual membership fee is \$7.50, but special memberships of \$15.00, \$50.00, \$75.00, and \$150.00 are available. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Mary Jane Kuhl, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed to Mrs. Kuhl.

