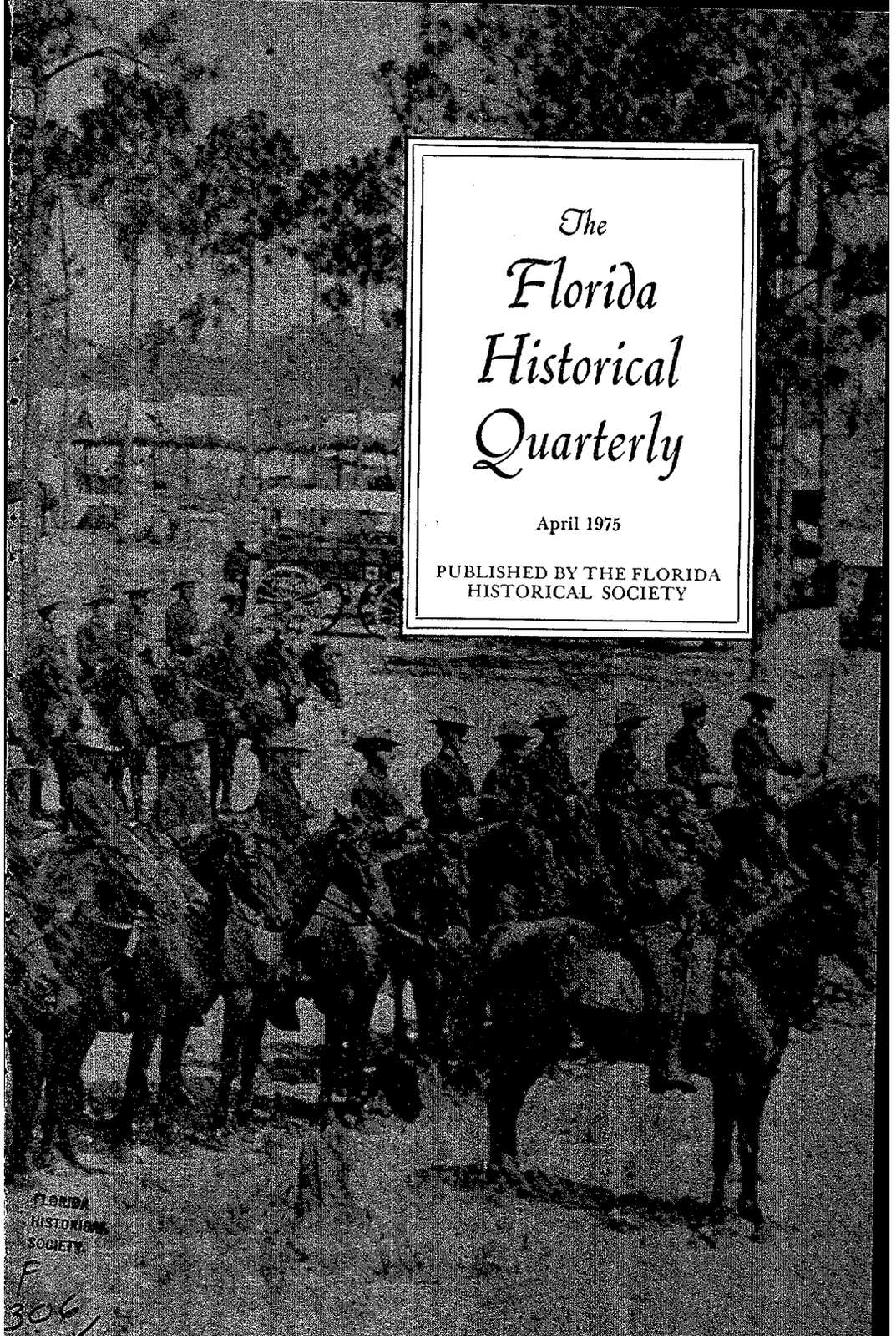

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COVER

The United States Army Third Cavalry at Tampa, May 1898. When it arrived from Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont, the Third camped west of the Tampa Bay Hotel between West Tenth Avenue and West Nineteenth Avenue. Because of transportation problems only part of the unit sailed for Cuba where they were attached to the Dismounted Cavalry Division led by former Confederate General Joe Wheeler. From a photograph in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

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FLORIDA GUBERNATORIAL POLITICS: THE FULLER WARREN YEARS

by DAVID R. COLBURN AND RICHARD K. SCHER*

INAUGURATION DAY, January 3, 1949, dawned overcast and rainy in Tallahassee. The inclement weather, however, did not dampen the enthusiasm of a large crowd that lined the route from the executive mansion to the capitol to greet the new governor, Fuller Warren. With typical inaugural fanfare, Warren was escorted to the steps of the capitol by marching guardsmen and a band which periodically broke into a rendition of "Suwannee River," the state song. After taking the oath of office, Warren gave a brief inaugural address in which he called for governmental economy, pine tree prosperity, citrus reform, increased tourism, and additional industry for Florida. He also renewed his campaign pledge to veto any general sales tax.[1]

The governor then went to his new office where he met for two hours with friends and supporters from throughout Florida. The day's social events concluded with the traditional inaugural ball. Despite the bad weather, Warren was extremely pleased with his first complete day in office. Its ceremonial aspects were very satisfying. He had always enjoyed being the center of attention, meeting with people and speaking at gatherings. Indeed, he had envisioned the office of governor largely in a ceremonial light. But, as Warren would shortly discover, there was much more to being governor of Florida than this. For the time being, however, the office met his every wish. It was the successful culmination of a lifelong dream.

According to his sister, Fuller Warren "always wanted to be governor."[2] He began his political career earlier than most poli-

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1. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat,* January 4, 1949; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* January 5, 1949.
2. Interview with Alma Warren, Gainesville, February 6, 1971, tape (8A) and transcript in University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

ticians. At the age of twelve he had sought unsuccessfully to become a page in the Florida State Senate. He developed his political skills as an undergraduate at the University of Florida: he served as president of the sophomore class, as a writer for the *Alligator,* the university newspaper, and as a member of the varsity debating team. All who knew him during his college days agreed he was a "hail fellow well met," despite the contention of one off-campus newspaper that he was little more than "a big wind from the west."[3]

Shortly after graduation Warren surprised Florida's political experts by capturing the House of Representatives seat from his native Calhoun County.[4] His youth and inexperience, however, prevented him from having much impact on the house proceedings. Nevertheless, his support of workmen's compensation won him a following among the state's labor leaders which would be of considerable benefit to him in his 1948 gubernatorial campaign. In 1929 Warren moved from Blountstown to Jacksonville. He continued to be active in politics, and in 1939 he was again elected to the House of Representatives with the largest vote margin ever given a legislative candidate from Duval County.

Encouraged by the vote he received, and anxious to further his political ambitions, Warren decided to run for governor in 1940. It proved to be an intelligent decision. Although his chances of winning were slight, he accomplished his purpose of placing his name before the Florida public and of laying the foundation for a statewide base of support. He ran an astonishingly strong campaign for such a politically obscure and inexperienced figure. He had virtually no funds to finance his race. Campaigning on a platform of fencing cattle off the highways, but relying principally on his personal attractiveness and remarkable speaking ability, Warren finished third to Spessard Holland in a field of eleven with 86,000 votes.[5]

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3. Gainesville *La Fouet,* 1925.
4. *St. Petersburg Times,* April 30, 1948, uncatalogued Fuller Warren Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter cited as UFWP:PKY.
5. Warren received 17.3 per cent of the first primary vote; Holland, 24.7 per cent; and Whitehair, 19.8 per cent. Holland won with 118,962 votes. V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 89; Annie Mary Hartsfield and Elston E. Roady, *Florida Votes, 1920-1962: Selected Election Statistics* (Tallahassee, 1963), 70.

Warren probably would have run again in 1944 after his exceptional showing in 1940 if World War II had not intervened. A member of the Florida National Guard, he was called to active duty and spent his tour as a naval gunnery officer in the Pacific. During these years he wrote numerous letters to newspaper editors in Florida describing his naval duties in the Pacific. Several of these letters were published by the *Florida Times-Union.* After his return to Florida in 1945, Warren spent the post-war years reestablishing his ties with the state's voters and political leaders. On January 15, 1948, he announced his candidacy for governor on a platform opposing a general sales tax, reducing the high cost of government through a centralized purchasing plan, removing cattle from the highways, initiating a citrus code, and expanding some social welfare programs.[6]

Throughout the primary Warren's campaign was efficiently managed. Blountstown was selected as the place to kick off the campaign to emphasize Warren's rural heritage and small town roots. Such an emphasis was important in seeking the north Florida vote, the vast majority of which was rural. It also turned out to be significant because Warren's chief opponent, Dan McCarty, was a resident of Fort Pierce and had a strong following among southeastern, urban voters of the state.[7]

Besides Warren and McCarty, the other leading gubernatorial candidates were Colin English, superintendent of public instruction; J. Tom Watson, attorney general; and State Senator William Shands. Their respective platforms disclosed relatively little difference in their goals for the state. To Warren's advantage, he was the first candidate in the race to issue a platform and to denounce a general sales tax. When his opponents published similar statements, Warren and his aides were able to note that he had been first to bring these matters before the public. In addition, his ties with labor, his pledge to appoint a woman to state office, and the support of Florida's liberal senator (and Warren's friend), Claude Pepper, made Warren appear the more progressive

6. Formal announcement of Fuller Warren for governor of Florida, 1948, Fuller Warren Papers, Florida Collection, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Hereinafter cited as FWP: FSU.
7. Robert Blake to Warren, November 15, 1948, UFWP:PKY.

candidate.[8] The Warren campaign also took full advantage of its candidate's abilities: Warren was an extremely able speaker and a handsome figure with a magnetic personality. These assets he exploited by a statewide speaking tour, local meetings with political leaders, and an extensive advertising campaign. This approach proved very effective in the primary and runoff against Dan McCarty. Indeed, personality proved to be more important than issues in determining the outcome of the 1948 election.[9]

The Warren campaign was also well financed. Although he signed a statement alleging he received only $12,241 in contributions and spent slightly less, he apparently had as much as $450,000 to $500,000 to expend. Louis Wolfson, a business tycoon in Jacksonville and a longtime friend of Warren; William Johnston, Miami dog track operator and also a Warren confidant; and Charles V. Griffin, a prominent citrus grower, pledged $150,000 to $160,000 each to bolster Warren's campaign.[10] The contributions permitted Warren much greater latitude than his opponents, particularly in advertising. Without television and with only modest use of radio, advertising and a statewide barnstorming campaign were the only available ways to reach the voting public in Florida. Warren's campaign was equipped to do both and to do them well.

The runoff between Warren and McCarty presented a classic political match-up in Florida: Warren, the candidate of rural north Florida, opposing McCarty, the candidate of urban south Florida. Conditions in the state favored Warren. The tremendous growth of south Florida kept that region more politically fragmented than the north which gained population largely through new residents from Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and

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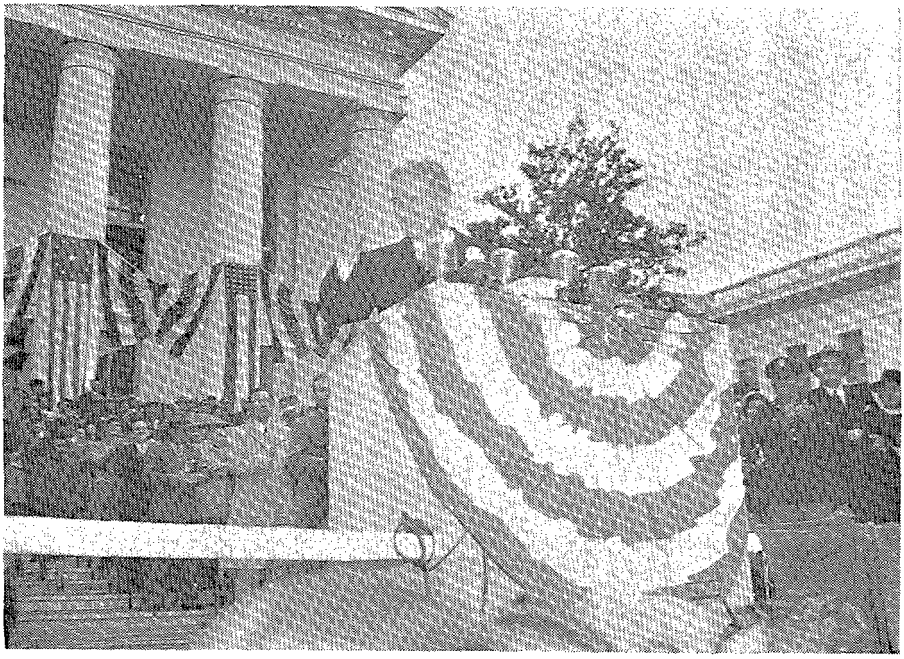
8. Formal announcement of Fuller Warren for governor of Florida, 1948, FWP:FSU.
9. See Key, *Southern Politics,* 94, 298-311.
10. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* June 7, 1950; Griffin press clippings, 1950, FWP:FSU. See also *Miami Sunday News,* May 28, 1950, in the Fuller Warren Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. These papers include ten scrapbooks of newspaper clippings about Warren and his administration. The scrapbooks cover the following periods: (1) November 1948-August 1949; (2) September 1949-December 1949; (3) January 1950-March 1950; (4) April 1950-July 1950; (5) August 1950-December 1950; (6) January 1951-April 15, 1951; (7) April 16, 1951-May 30, 1951; (8) June 1951-July 1951; (9) August 1951-October 1951; (10) November 1951-December 1951. Hereinafter cited as FWS:PKY.



Inauguration day, Tallahassee, January 4, 1949. Strozier Library.

Governor Warren conferring honorary Florida citizenship upon the Duke and Dutches of Windsor, January 1952. Strozier Library.

Back cover, Fuller Warren's *Speaking of Speaking* (St. Augustine, 1944).

Fuller Warren on the campaign trail, 1948. Robert Manning Strozier Libary, Florida State University.

The Fancy Figure Skater

Orlando Morning Sentinel, February 22, 1950.

Aren't You Puttin' Too Much Faith In The Sea Anchor, Governor?

Orlando Morning Sentinel, February 9, 1950.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Yes Suh—He Should Have At Least Glanced Through It

Orlando Morning Sentinel, February 17, 1950.

Georgia. These immigrants generally shared the rural political views of northern Floridians.[11]

Warren's victory in the runoff was also aided by the support of Watson, English, and Shands. Watson and Shands never formally endorsed Warren's candidacy, but they had been expected to announce for McCarty and did not. English did endorse Warren and was subsequently nominated to be higher education coodinator in Warren's administration. McCarty's candidacy also suffered because of the apparent support of Governor Millard Caldwell and his administration. Floridians have traditionally resisted the establishment of political dynasties, and Caldwell's support lent that impression to McCarty's campaign. Warren introduced this argument into the second primary campaign and was able to exploit it effectively.[12]

The results from the second primary showed Warren the victor with fifty-two per cent of the vote. The outcome also disclosed the traditional sharp sectional cleavages in Florida with Warren's strength coming from the northern and rural areas of the state while McCarty's vote came from the east coast. Duval County and those counties adjacent to it voted for Warren. Warren defeated his Republican opponent in the general election by 305,306 votes.[13]

With a successful campaign behind him, Warren looked forward to his duties as governor. He had assumed, rather naively, that his role as chief executive would be largely ceremonial, and he was prepared to act in this capacity. Indeed, he proved successful in this role. He was surprised to find, however, on assuming office, that the position was much more complex than he had envisioned. A friend of Warren's once remarked that one of the most serious problems he had as governor was that while he had looked forward to assuming the office, he had never given any thought to what came after inauguration day.[14] He soon realized the difficulties of the office and was moved to say: "I must confess that I almost overmatched myself when I

11. Key, *Southern Politics,* 84-86; Morris L. Haimowitz, "Population Trends in Florida" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1942), 124-26.
12. *Miami Daily News,* May 11, 1948; *Pensacola Journal,* May 12, 1948; *Fort Myers Press,* May 24, 1948, FWP:FSU.
13. Key, *Southern Politics,* 93, 95; "Florida Primary Elections," 1948 returns, politics, FWP:FSU; Hartsfield and Roady, *Florida Votes,* 67.
14. *Tampa Sunday Tribune,* January 22, 1950.

got hold of this governorship. It has been the roughest, toughest, most terrifying task I ever confronted."[15]

It was the administrative duties of the office that caused Warren the greatest personal and political difficulties. It was the part of being governor that he least understood and least enjoyed. His political inexperience in this area was magnified by the controversy over organized crime and its connection with local and state government in Florida. The United States Crime Commission, chaired by United States Senator Estes Kefauver, and the Greater Miami Crime Commission each conducted extensive hearings on organized crime in Florida during Warren's administration. Both concluded that criminals were operating in several areas of the state with the support of some county officials.

Warren had promised to promptly suspend any official accused of permitting gambling in his county and to hold a hearing later. But instead he spoke out sharply against the Kefauver and Miami Crime Commissions because of their criticisms of him and their implications that he was neglectful of his duty, and that, perhaps, he was even indirectly supportive of gambling. As a result, Warren was reluctant to carry out his own suspension promise, and this hesitation drew heavy criticism from the press, legislators, and the general citizenry. Finally, after months of charges and attacks, he suspended five sheriffs– James A. Sullivan, Dade County; Walter Clark, Broward County; Alex Littlefield, Volusia County; Frank M. Williams, Polk County; and H. Isle Enzor, Okaloosa County. When he later reappointed three of them because the allegations could not be proved, he was again subjected to intense criticism.[16] Some of the attacks against Warren were grounded in questionable moves he himself made. After he suspended Sheriff Enzor of Okaloosa County, Warren replaced him with James A. McArthur, the man's son-in-law. "Only Fuller Warren would pull a stunt like that" was a typical outraged response to this action.[17]

Warren seemed unable to satisfy anybody in his handling of

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15. *Miami Herald,* February 8, 1950, FWS:PKY.
16. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 2, 1951; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 12, 1951; *Miami Daily News,* April 9, 1951, FWS:PKY; *Jacksonville Journal,* July 27, 1950, FWS:PKY.
17. *Tampa Times,* August 5, 1950, FWS:PKY.

gambling in Florida. The constant criticism handicapped him in running his administration. It also underscored a "credibility gap" which developed because of the way he acted, or failed to act, in connection with gambling and organized crime. Ultimately it eroded most of the luster of his administration, and it adversely affected the moral and legislative leadership he was able to provide.

Warren's administrative problems were accentuated by his appointments and use of patronage. Every governor tends to distribute the rewards of office to the faithful. But Warren's handling of both administrative functions was heavy-handed. In addition, it reflected his insecurity in office and the degree to which he was compromised by the large campaign contributions. During his first year in office Warren attempted to acknowledge his campaign debt to Colin English by creating a special position in the Department of Education for him. Pressured by Warren, the legislature established the position but rebelled at providing funds for salary and expenses. Several legislators openly denounced the political nature of the appointment, and thus forced Warren to rescind his offer to English.[18]

More serious were three other patronage-related incidents. In early 1950 Warren's Dade County patronage committee openly criticized him. Members of the committee complained that they had worked hard for Warren's victory, but that they had received no rewards or favors. Rather, they charged, William Johnston had been given the privilege of recommending all personnel for patronage jobs in the Miami area.[19]

Also in early 1950, it was revealed that the cost of renting road construction machinery had increased to over $100,000 a month during the previous year. Warren had denounced these excessive rates during the campaign, but rental contracts were important patronage instruments awarded by the State Road Department without competitive bidding. During 1949 about $250,000 worth of contracts had been awarded to a company headed by A. F. Rich of Tallahassee. Rich, it turned out, had been chairman of Warren's inauguration committee.[20]

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18. West Palm Beach *Palm Beach Post*, January 8, 1950.
19. *Miami Sunday News*, February 19, 1950, FWS:PKY.
20. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 20, 1950.

In itself this disclosure was more annoying than politically damaging. However, it presaged a minor scandal, one that did embarrass the governor. During 1950, Charles V. Griffin broke with Warren when the governor rescinded Griffin's appointment as chief crime investigator in the administration. After the breakup, Warren dismissed a number of so-called "Griffin men" in the road department, including Robert Ghiotto and Arthur Sims, both of whom held high level positions. In August 1950, Ghiotto and Sims brought civil suit against the road department, apparently at the urging of Griffin, because of its rental policies. The ensuing public disclosures of contracts let and rates paid were prominently displayed in the press. The embarrassment to Warren increased when Ghiotto and Sims won the suit over the rentals in spite of the efforts of the department's counsel and outside attorneys especially retained for the litigation. Their victory forced the road department to receive competitive bids before letting contracts.[27]

State Senator Olin Shivers of Chipley remarked early in the Warren administration that "Fuller Warren will make a good Governor if his friends don't ruin him."[22] Warren was under considerable pressure from his closest associates– especially Wolfson, Griffin, and Johnston– to appoint individuals acceptable to them. Repeatedly they sought to influence his choice of candidates for positions; in this they acted less as dictators than as referees establishing limits within which Warren had to choose.[23] Thus, on the eve of his inauguration, shortly before a major appointment to the road department was to be announced, Warren received a telegram from Wolfson: "Sorry could not be in your meeting today. Think it very important Alfred McKethan [chairman of the State Road Department] interviews several men before reaching decision on chief engineer job. Rushing this matter may prove a great mistake." Warren then waited until Wolfson had returned from New York City before making the appointment.[24] While each of the three men was interested in appoint-

21. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 1, 1950; *Tampa Sunday Tribune,* January 14, 1951.
22. *St. Petersburg Times,* March 29, 1949.
23. *Jacksonville Journal,* February 25, 1950, FWS:PKY.
24. Telegram from Louis Wolfson to Warren, December 6, 1948, UFWP: PKY.

ments throughout the executive agencies, it appears that each had specific concerns as well: Wolfson with the road department, Johnston with the racing commission, and Griffin with the citrus commission. Griffin, however, had broader interests than the other two men. He apparently had a desire to promote "good government" in Florida, and it was at least in part this concern that caused him to try to support enforcement of the state gambling laws on behalf of the administration.

The hold which this triumvirate maintained over Warren's appointments reached such proportions that one newspaper commentator noted in early 1950 that the most serious problem with the administration was the lack of "Warren men" in it.[25] *Miami Herald* columnist James Kilgore was moved to add: "Actually there is not and never has been a Warren administration, since it has been divided from the start, like all Gaul, into three parts – the factions led by C. V. Griffin, Louis Wolfson and William H. Johnston." The governor had been able to appoint very few of his own people to top level positions; as a result there were few individuals on whom he could personally rely.

Warren's other major difficulty in making appointments was his apparent trouble in judging people. For him, the major criterion for evaluating individuals for potential appointment was whether or not he liked them. Warren's selection of Frank Wright, a long-time friend and former publicity director for the University of Florida, as his assistant proved to be a mistake. Wright exhibited little ability in developing Warren's programs or policies, or in problem-solving. Ultimately he lost the confidence of other governmental officials in both the executive and legislative branches and of Warren himself. Wright resigned in 1951.[26]

Two other appointments also proved unsatisfactory and embarrassing. In October 1951 Warren placed Julius Jay Perlmutter on the Dade County Zoning Board of Adjustment. The appointment turned out to be an affront to Miami realtors. Perlmutter, at the time of his selection, was accused by the Florida Real Estate Commission of violating state laws for the conduct of a real estate business. Loyal Compton, Warren's press

25. *Jacksonville Journal,* February 25, 1950, FWS:PKY.
26. "Frank S. Wright– Appointed by Governor Warren to be Assistant to the Governor," 1948, FWP:FSU; *Miami Herald,* October 14, 1951.

secretary, claimed that Warren had not known about the accusations at the time the appointment was made.[27] Later that month when former State Senator John Mathews of Jacksonville, a political colleague and ally of Warren, was appointed to the state supreme court, the *St. Petersburg Times,* normally a supporter of the governor, severely rebuked him for placing "one of the worst bigots" in Florida history in such a responsible post.[28]

To his credit, Warren did appoint a number of women to state boards and agencies, including Mrs. Jesse Ball DuPont, the first woman to sit on the State Board of Control, the governing body of public higher education in the state. Warren's other female appointees included Ida M. Knabb of Macclenny to the Florida Children's Commission; Mrs. Fred Baisden to the Board of Social Welfare, District Nine; and Ruth Linda Sutton as justice of the peace, district three. On balance, however, Warren's male and female appointees were much more of a liability than an asset. Many of the people he selected proved unsatisfactory because of unethical behavior or incompetence.[29] To some extent Warren may have been the victim of bad luck. On the other hand, the conclusion is inescapable that some of the problems he incurred from weak appointments were the results of poor judgements or because he accepted the advice of his political cronies.

Warren's leadership was compromised also by his failure to have enacted a comprehensive legislative program. Again his political ineffectiveness was made more glaring by an unexpected development. He had no sooner taken office than he was informed by Governor Millard Caldwell that the state had expended the entire budget surplus built up during World War II and that the treasury was empty. Some rapid calculations by Warren's advisors disclosed that it would cost the state a minimum of $206,000,000 to operate during the first two years of his administration, but that only $145,000,000 could be raised under the existing tax structure.[30] In addition, if the legislature

27. "Appointments by Governor Fuller Warren during 1949 through 1952," FWP:FSU; *Miami Herald,* October 14, 1951.
28. Mathews had authored a white supremacy bill aimed at barring Negroes from the Democratic primaries. He had been an ideological bedfellow of the Ku Klux Klan and a leader of the Dixiecrat movement of 1948, according to the *St. Petersburg Times,* October 18, 1951.
29. *Miami Herald,* August 6, 1950.
30. Fuller Warren's Message to the Legislature, April 5, 1949, p. 8, UFWP: PKY.

should approve an added $12,000,000 for schools and a new $7,000,000 flood control program, which it gave every indication of being willing to do, the state would run a deficit of $72,000,000. Under the existing constitution it was illegal for Florida to operate "in the red."

Committed by his campaign pledge to veto any general sales tax, Warren was forced to look elsewhere for sources of revenue. He turned to Clement Donovan, an economist at the University of Florida, who had written a pamphlet criticizing the sales tax. Professor Donovan was in the process of preparing another pamphlet suggesting additional, more progressive forms of taxation, including an income tax.[31]

The Donovan recommendations were close to Warren's political philosophy. The proposed taxes on private utilities, the phosphate and petroleum industries, insurance companies, banks, small loan companies, and corporation charters exhibited a measure of populism. If Warren was not himself a populist, he nevertheless was in sympathy with many populist solutions and attitudes. In his message to the legislature Warren had declared: "The soundest and fairest of all principles of taxation is that taxes should be levied according to the ability to pay. That principle has not been followed in Florida."[32] Indeed, as he had previously noted, Florida's businesses paid only eleven per cent of Florida's total taxable income in 1948 as compared with a national average of 18.3 per cent, while Florida's consumers paid 77.4 per cent against an average of 55.1 per cent in the nation as a whole.

The proposed revenue package would correct these imbalances, and implement Warren's view that previously untapped sources of revenue should carry their share of the burden. Politically, however, the tax package was a disaster, and it reflected the political naivete of Warren and his advisors. The breadth of the tax recommendations alienated nearly all entrenched economic interests in the state. The proposed taxes on

31. C. R. Donovan, "Do We Need a Sales Tax in Florida?," *Economic Leaflets,* Bureau of Economics and Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of Florida, VIII (December 1948), 1-4; "How to Balance Florida's Budget," *Economic Leaflets,* VIII (February 1949), 1-4; Interview with Professor Clement L. Donovan, Gainesville, March 5, 1974.

32. Fuller Warren's Message to the Legislature, April 5, 1949, pp. 8-11, UFWP:PKY.

phosphates, banks, petroleum, forest products, and tourists, for instance, drew the ire of representatives whose counties depended on one or more of these enterprises.

Traditionally, the first legislative session of a Florida governor's term is his most successful because his recent election permits him to rally public support for his proposals. But in 1949 the lawmakers felt Warren's tax package had not been aired during the campaign and thus had no demonstrable public backing. Warren was unable to convince them otherwise. In fact, he appeared very unsure of himself in dealing with the legislature. He failed to mobilize the powers of his office to pressure the legislators into adopting all or part of the revenue package. In addition, his negotiations with the legislature were superficial and ineffective. He failed to work out, or even attempt, a compromise for the program with house and senate leaders.

Many legislators were unimpressed with Warren before he became governor. Several felt he was little more than a showman, and believed this was the major factor in his victory over more capable Dan McCarty. Warren's ineptness in handling his tax package substantiated their beliefs and persuaded others that Warren was a weak governor. Without ever really considering the governor's tax package, the legislature adjourned.[33]

During the summer of 1949 Warren announced that he would call a special legislative session on taxation in September. In the meantime, he attempted to bring public pressure on the legislators in support of new taxes. He spoke over the radio and at numerous public gatherings throughout the state, constantly stressing the need for additional revenue. He also sought to dramatize Florida's critical condition by mortgaging his automobile and by postponing payment of his salary. These two acts, however, probably did more to irritate legislators by their seemingly frivolous nature than to cajole them into voting for Warren's proposals. Several legislators publicly ridiculed the governor; one in particular claimed angrily that Warren's actions were "asinine" and "utterly ridiculous."[34]

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33. *Tampa Times*, May 6, 1949; *Miami Herald*, May 22, 1949; *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, May 28, June 4, 1949; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 4, 1949.
34. *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, June 19, 1949; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 20, July 5, 1949; *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, July 8, 1949; *Miami Daily News*, June 21, 1949, FWS:PKY.

When the legislature convened in September, Warren refused to make any specific recommendations for additional sources of revenue. He simply stated that new sources of funds would have to be found. He then called on Senator William Shands, chairman of the Senate committee on finance and taxation, and asked him to prepare a bill which would be acceptable to the legislature.[35]

Shands had been a gubernatorial opponent of Warren, but he agreed nevertheless to help him on the tax program. He was well respected in the legislature, and was generally recognized as one of its most powerful members. As a friend of big business, he had consistently favored a sales tax over the original plan Warren supported. During the summer months of 1949, between the end of the regular session and the commencement of the special one, Shands headed a special legislative study group on taxes. It toured the state laying the groundwork for the sales tax. Thus, when the legislature re-convened, Shands's proposal passed without difficulty.[36]

The only difference between Shands's original proposal and the bill Warren signed was the inclusion of a system of exemptions for food, clothing, medicines, and certain commercial supplies and equipment. The tax was limited enough so that Warren would not be forced to veto the bill, since he had repeatedly opposed a general sales tax throughout the campaign. Spokesmen for the governor in the legislature contended that he had never opposed a restricted tax. To show that he had not completely abandoned his principles, Warren noted that "laws are the result of compromises and seldom fulfill completely the wishes of any particular individual." He also contended that the state should now enact an income tax so that the wealthy would be forced to pay their fair share, but he did not introduce such a proposal at the 1951 session of the legislature.[37]

Although the conflict over the sales tax left political scars, Warren's first legislative session was not without its successes. Warren pushed through a bill to fence cattle off the highways

35. Interview with William A. Shands, Gainesville, March 1, 1971, tape (7AB) and transcript in University of Florida Oral History Archives; *Tampa Daily Times,* September 14, 1949, FWS:PKY; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* September 8, 1949.
36. Interview with Clement Donovan, March 5, 1974.
37. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* September 30, 1949.

which had long been a controversial issue in the state. He also began a ten-year federal-state water conservation program and earmarked a five-cent cigarette tax for aid to local government. More dramatically, he proposed a measure, ultimately passed during the 1951 session, to suppress the Ku Klux Klan by ending masked demonstrations and cross burnings. Warren, who had briefly been a member of the Klan in his earlier years, repudiated the organization, calling its members "hooded hoodlums, covered cowards, and sheeted jerks." His other major legislative accomplishment was the establishment of a citrus code which prevented the shipment of green fruit to northern markets. Called the "taste test" by Warren, it resulted in an immediate rise in Florida citrus profits.[38]

In spite of these achievements, Warren's legislative program could not be called a success. Of the twenty-four proposals he submitted to the legislature during the first session in 1949, only six were adopted– cattle fenced off the highway, citrus code revision, state participation in flood control, establishment of loyalty oaths, state involvement in a regional education compact, and continuation of a legislative reference bureau. Moreover, two of these acts– state involvement in a regional education compact and establishment of loyalty oaths for public employees– were relatively insignificant. During the second session Warren exerted little executive leadership. His sole accomplishment was the passage of the Ku Klux Klan act, and that was originally introduced in the first session. Warren also failed to make even a modest effort to have the legislature enact programs which he seemed to feel were of great importance at that moment in Florida's history: price controls, an income tax, central purchasing, lowering of private utility rates, and a statewide merit system for public employees. Either he did not submit these proposals to the legislature, or, if he did, he abandoned them once they were sent forward.

Although Warren pledged before taking office that he would "go more than half way to bring harmonious relations with the legislature," he was never able to accomplish this goal.[39] Warren

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38. Cattle Fencing Data, 1940-1950; Speech File, Aims and Policies, 1949-1952; Florida State Citrus Commission, 1948-1952, FWP:FSU; *Panama City News-Herald*, May 8, 1951.
39. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, January 4, 1949.

seemed genuinely lost when it came to bargaining and negotiating with legislators over programs. As a result, he found his legislative opportunities seriously impaired.

Restricted as policy leader, Warren turned to the more pleasurable gubernatorial role of "salesman" for Florida. Initially, he was more at home with this responsibility. The high point of his first year in office came during his speaking tour in the summer of 1949. However his support may have eroded during the legislative session, he seemed to recoup his strength during that tour. He spoke in nearly every community in Florida, noting the accomplishments of his administration and pointing out the state's needs for the future. His easy manner and folksy personality quickly disarmed his most difficult audience. His smooth, dynamic speaking ability won him its admiration.

Warren was a man of great vitality and gusto. He genuinely enjoyed going out on the hustings to speak and meet with the people of the state. He particularly liked to tell anecdotes on himself. He would recount these stories to establish a rapport with his audience and, in addition, to demonstrate that he was really "just a regular fellow."

He appears to have been most successful acting as ambassador for Florida to the nation. He coordinated a year-round advertising program which had him traveling around the country speaking about Florida and sending crates of Florida citrus to each of the other forty-seven governors. Road construction was planned to encourage tourism. Warren once remarked that we "design every project with tourist traffic in mind."[40] Warren was especially proud of the success which his boosterism program met in promoting summer tourism in the state.

Warren also gave the state progressive leadership on labor issues. Recipient of the labor vote in 1948, he encouraged the growth of labor unions in the private sector and generally defended their viewpoint in Florida.[41] During a walkout by Tampa bus drivers late in 1949, Warren ridiculed the company's settle-

40. Transcript of radio speech by Fuller Warren, April 25, 1950, in Fuller Warren, "Speeches, prepared for delivery over a statewide radio hook-up, December 26, 1949-February 26, 1952," p. 6, copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
41. Warren opposed the growth of unions in the public sector, however. He publicly chastized James A. Harper, labor member of the state industrial commission, for his reported efforts to organize a union among state employees. *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* September 6, 1950.

ment offer: [Its] "three cent raise reminds me of a penny tip I was offered many years ago when I was a bellboy."[42] He supported the drivers' demands for an eight-hour day and a twenty-five cent per hour pay raise, and he generally praised their conduct of the strike. However, when the strike appeared to threaten Tampa's economy during the Christmas season, Warren encouraged the workers to return to work in exchange for his support during mediation.

During his administration Warren also sought to improve race relations in the state. He vetoed an appropriations item in 1951 which would have cut off aid to colleges if blacks and whites were allowed to mix. Warren argued that such a step would damage Florida's reputation in the nation. In another racial matter Warren demonstrated similar fortitude when he entertained an interracial group in the executive mansion for the first time in the state's history. The group met with Warren on the death of Henry T. Moore, secretary of the Florida chapter of the NAACP, who was killed by a bomb planted under his home in Mims. Warren pledged the full cooperation of the state in seeking the arrest and conviction of the murderer.[43]

But while Warren may have strengthened his position and reputation as governor through his speaking tours, ambassadorial efforts, and positions on labor and race, he undermined his own administration through his actions involving the investigation of crime in Florida. Especially damaging were the criticisms directed at him for his attitude toward the Kefauver Crime Commission hearings in Miami. The commission had extended its investigation to Florida in 1950, and its findings closely linked Warren's aide, W. O. Crosby, and his friend and associate, William Johnston, to an effort to establish a former Capone mobster in a Miami bookmaking syndicate. Warren replied that his investigation had found nothing wrong with either man's actions. Whereupon Kefauver declared that "'certain Florida officials are not anxious to enforce State laws." By implication Warren was one of these officials.[44]

Warren's situation was complicated by his bad relations with the Greater Miami Crime Commission. The governor had re-

42. *Tampa Daily Times*, November 9, December 14, 1949, FWS:PKY.
43. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 10, 1952.
44. *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, June 2, 1950.

fused its request to investigate four Florida dog tracks owned by William Johnston. When C. V. Griffin subsequently testified before the Miami Crime Commission that Warren had received approximately $460,000 in campaign contributions from himself, Wolfson, and Johnston, it appeared to many Floridians and the commission that Warren had been bought.[45] The governor and his aides badly mishandled the subsequent events. Responding to the charge of Jack Younger, chairman of the Miami crime group, that he was protecting Johnston, Warren accused Younger of being an associate of a "notorious gambler" and Daniel Sullivan, director of the Crime Commission, of being a "hired liar."[46] As to the campaign contributions, Warren declared that he "knew nothing of who contributed or how much" was contributed to his 1948 race. "I had no part in handling the financial part of the campaign. I could hardly keep up with my speaking engagements."[47]

Warren's reputation was visibly tarnished by his evasiveness. Instead of letting the matter drop, however, he attacked Kefauver and his committee. In a series of broadsides he accused the senator of being a "headline hungry hypocrite," and he dared Kefauver to meet him in public debate.[48] Somewhat later he issued a twenty-eight page statement in which he declared that Kefauver "perverted and prostituted the chairmanship of the Senate crime investigating committee to promote himself for president."[49]

Warren managed to salvage a measure of respectability for the office and himself when he rejected a subpoena from the Senate Crime Committee. The committee sought his presence to clarify statements made during the course of their investigation, and that of the Miami Crime Commission, into Florida crime. The governor based his refusal to appear on the inviolability of states' rights. He argued that as chief executive of Florida he was

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45. *Miami Daily News*, February 22, 1950, FWS:PKY; *Miami Sunday News*, May 28, 1950, FWS:PKY.
46. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 23, 1951; West Palm Beach *Palm Beach Post*, March 23, 1951.
47. *Miami Herald*, July 20, 1950.
48. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1951.
49. *Miami Daily News*, June 28, 1951, FWS:PKY. On still another occasion, Warren said Kefauver's motives were "about as low as Hitler's were" and his actions as despicable as those of Judas Iscariot. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 6, 1951.

clearly not subservient to the demands of a congressional subcommittee.[50] The response was well-received in Florida and throughout the South. The dogma of states' rights was still held in such high regard that most Floridians, despite a general desire to have Warren testify and clear the air, believed his decision was appropriate.

Undoubtedly his position on the subpoena enabled Warren to survive the most serious challenge to the legitimacy of his administration. An effort to impeach him on the basis of the Kefauver and Miami crime allegations failed. The Florida House agreed with its subcommittee that there were not legally-sufficient grounds to impeach Warren. The vote was seventy-six to six.[51]

Warren finished his term of office with one last swing around the state. Once again the governor exhibited his unique ability to charm his audiences. The *St. Petersburg Times* reported that the tour was more successful than either friends or foes had expected. Warren was able to leave office with a measure of grace.[52]

Perhaps what should most be emphasized in interpreting and evaluating the Warren administration is his desire to serve the people of the state. Warren's entire political career before 1949— stretching back some thirty years— had as its single goal the attainment of the governor's office. It was in the capacity of the chief executive of Florida that Warren thought he could best serve Florida and its citizens.

Moreover, while he gloried in the limelight of the governorship, and conceived of the office in primarily ceremonial terms, his desire to become governor was not based on self-serving motives. Indeed, his entire political career, and his four years as governor, are notably lacking in self-aggrandizement. He was not a power-grabber; he did not, and perhaps could not, conceive of the governorship in terms of political power, especially for himself. Perhaps it is fair to say that what he really wanted was to *be* governor. His conception of the office, however, did not include knowing what to do with it. Indeed, it may be that he did not know where his political self-interest really lay. If he did, un-

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50. Box of miscellaneous items labeled "Extra," FWP:FSU; Warren to Herbert O'Connor, July 10, 1951; memo to Warren from Weldon Starry, n.d., UFWP:PKY.
51. *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 29, 1951.
52. *St. Petersburg Times*, November 25, 1951.

doubtedly he would never have allowed himself to become bogged down in so many hopeless political morasses, especially those brought about by his involvement with Griffin, Wolfson, and Johnston, and with the gambling/Kefauver episodes.

While Warren gloried in the ceremonial and symbolic roles of the governor, he also felt a responsibility to act for the good of the state. Like the men he most admired– William Jennings Bryan, Huey Long, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt– Warren sought to help the common man. Warren admired these men for their ability to put the needs of the general population, and particularly the downtrodden, before those of special economic interests. The governor was especially sympathetic to the poor and forgotten citizens of Florida, and it was these people in particular whom he most wanted to help.

As with Bryan, Long, and Roosevelt, Warren had a deep concern with social welfare programs. In his campaign rhetoric, and in subsequent speeches and action, he stressed the importance of improved schools and increased pensions for the aged. Indeed, he once remarked that one of the reasons for reducing the costs of running the government would be to free additional funds for education.[53] His economics may have been faulty, but Warren actually believed it to be a feasible course of action. He also emphasized the need for increased state facilities for the sick and mentally disturbed. He vetoed two bills which would have ended rent control in the state. Although he never submitted a bill on the subject, he recommended to the 1951 legislature that it enact a program of price controls in order to prevent ruinous inflation. He vetoed a bill which would have made public the state's welfare rolls. Additionally, Warren sought to improve the quality of race relations in Florida, and to recognize the rights of labor. Finally, in his initial tax package Warren sought to structure taxes in such a way that the costs would mostly be borne by business and industry, and not private citizens.

Warren's social welfare concerns were progressive for the time, but they were rooted in a deep commitment to the existing social and economic order. He was not anti-business or anti-wealth; his strenuous efforts to expand business and industry in

53. Tallahassee *Sunday News-Democrat*, February 22, 1948.

the state are evidence against this view. But he did feel that it was the responsibility of government to help all of the people, and that it should be dedicated to the elimination of poverty: "That government is best which reaches down to its lowest and most impoverished citizens."[54] During his election campaign he had enlarged upon what he felt government was capable of bringing about, and he had pledged himself and his administration to try to further this goal: "We will strive for good will and friendly feeling in Florida the like of which no state has ever known. Friends will be friendlier. Neighbors will be more neighborly. Enmity will be unknown. Man's humanity to man will be seen and felt on every hand. From the highest places of power to the humble hovels of poverty the blessed essence of brotherhood will burgeon."[55] This rhetorical flourish must not be understood as mere campaign bombast. Warren, who loved Florida and its citizens very deeply, was genuinely committed to attempting to reach this goal as governor.

But unlike his three heroes, Warren was not programmatically or policy-oriented. He could describe concisely a set of goals for Florida, and he had a vague sense that government could be used to help people and work for them. But he did not know how to connect the two in any consistent, systematic way. When the speeches and rhetoric were finished, and it was time to define policy alternatives, make choices, and provide specific recommendations, he was lost. He felt frustrated and constrained as governor because he was forced to make decisions he did not know how to make. Even his close friend Louis Wolfson said he needed "to make up his mind to be an executive."[56]

The disappointment of Warren's governorship is that he lacked the administrative capabilities and political acumen to lead the state in the directions he wanted it to go. Furthermore, his campaign obligations to Wolfson, Johnston, and Griffin, and his loss of moral leadership during the crime commission hearings, severely handicapped his position of governor. Finally, where he did serve to focus the state's attention on some of its emerging problems, he was unable to achieve the goals he laid out for himself and for Florida.

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54. *St. Petersburg Times,* December 30, 1948.
55. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat,* January 4, 1949.
56. *Miami Sunday News,* May 28, 1950, FWS:PKY.

THE *NEW YORK TIMES* VIEWS CIVIL WAR JACKSONVILLE

by RICHARD A. MARTIN*

DURING THE CIVIL WAR, military units North and South had their newspaper contingents in camp and field— war correspondents living out of saddlebags stuffed with pencils and notebooks, artists with sketch pads, and photographers working out of wagons jammed with the apparatus of their craft. Although southern newspapers were restricted by shortages of newsprint and men, northern journals prospered, publishing prolifically every shade of drama and every degree of tragedy the conflict offered. In fact, as Allan Nevins has observed, Civil War correspondents enjoyed such a virtual monopoly on the news "they were able to write with greater fullness and thoroughness than their successors in the two World Wars." Nevins also made the point that despite the voluminous record they compiled, the work of America's Civil War correspondents was largely ignored in the memoirs of contemporary military leaders, and continued to be neglected by the nation's historians for almost a century.[1]

Among exceptions to this rule was William Watson Davis, whose *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* leans heavily on representative contemporary newspaper accounts. Davis's study draws much of its strength and many of its interesting and provocative passages from newspaper sources.[2] Turning to Jacksonville, one finds that historians generally have overlooked or neglected available Civil War newspaper sources. T. Frederick Davis drew on state and local journals for his *History of Jackson-*

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1. Louis M. Starr, *Reporting the Civil War: The Bohemian Brigade in Action, 1861-65* (New York, 1962), xv-xvi.
2. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsmile edition, Gainesville, 1964).

ville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924, but apparently paid little attention to the national press. His treatment of Jacksonville during the Civil War cites only one newspaper clipping, and does not identify its date or origin. As a result, Davis's account during this period lacks a depth and perspective it might otherwise have attained.[3]

Jacksonville received more attention in the northern press than other places of far greater military importance, perhaps because it was a focal point for politicians, adventurers, and visionaries who regarded northeast Florida as the ideal place for launching their various schemes. Eli Thayer regarded the area between the St. Johns River and the Atlantic Ocean as the logical location for launching a permanent occupation of the state by 20,000 nine-month army volunteers. These men were to be armed and transported to Florida at government expense, and, when the territory east of the St. Johns had been secured, they would be discharged and allowed to settle the area permanently, establishing a loyal government which would bring the state back into the Union.[4]

Vice President Hannibal Hamlin petitioned Lincoln to appoint Thayer as military governor of Florida, 134 members of Congress signed a petition favoring the plan, and the House Committee on Military Affairs passed a resolution advocating the scheme as a means "to strike the rebellion a telling blow."[5] At various times, influential business, civic, and political leaders, and delegations of congressmen descended on the White House to urge the President to call up the needed volunteers. Thayer at

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3. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 122, 137, 116-32.
4. On January 25, 1863, the *Times* reported at length a speech by Eli Thayer outlining his plan in great detail. *New York Times,* January 13, 1863, carries the full text of a resolution of the House Committee on Military Affairs endorsing the colonization scheme. A dozen articles were published in the paper concerning Thayer and the colonization scheme in its various forms. See *New York Times,* October 3, 19, 25; December 18, 29, 1862; January 6, 13, 25; February 8, 19, 1863. The colonization campaign ran its course between the second and third occupations of Jacksonville. Military demands in more strategic theaters of war, continuing Confederate resistance in northeast Florida, the burning of Jacksonville in October 1863, and finally, the disaster at Olustee early in 1864 doomed the project to oblivion.
5. *New York Times,* December 18, 1862; January 13, 1863.

one point declared that 40,000 volunteers were ready as soon as Lincoln issued the necessary orders.[6]

In January 1863, Lincoln received a delegation of German-Americans who called to discuss the colonization of Florida, "stating that thousands of German citizens were ready and anxious to share the fortunes of the enterprise." At that time, according to one report, Lincoln "assured the delegation that Mr. Thayer's plan . . . had received the earnest and cordial attention of himself and Cabinet, and that while recent military events had forced the postponement of this enterprise . . . yet he trusted the delay was for but a few days."[7]

A year later, when his prospects for renomination by his party were none too bright, Lincoln himself considered the possibility of exploiting the political potential of Florida in order to strengthen his candidacy.[8] Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, in league with Florida Unionists, was also interested in Jacksonville and northeast Florida as a possible base for advancing his own candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination.[9] But the conduct of Chase's agents in Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine was such that the treasury department was forced to mount an investigation of

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6. *Ibid.*, December 18, 1862; January 6; February 8, 19, 1863.
7. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1863.
8. Lincoln was accused by his opponents of engineering, for political purposes, the fourth occupation of Jacksonville in February 1864, which led to the Federal defeat at Olustee. Although Lincoln was cleared of having any such direct interest in these events, in the sense of precipitating them, the evidence is clear that when he was advised of the pending military expedition to Florida, and learned that certain "worthy gentlemen" planned "to reconstruct a legal State Government" there, he took a personal interest in the matter. Lincoln commissioned one of his own aides, John Hay, as a major in the army and sent him on the expedition to determine the real strength of loyal sentiment in Jacksonville and northeast Florida. The *Times* published the report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War relative to these matters, including Lincoln's official correspondence, on April 12, 1864. A "reconstructed" Florida government at this time would have been eligible to elect voting delegates to the Republican National Convention in June of 1864. Since Lincoln was seeking the Republican nomination for a second term, it would have been vital to his interests to follow political developments in Florida closely, and, if necessary, to influence them on his own behalf. As it turned out, this was not necessary.
9. Ovid L. Futch, "Salmon P. Chase and Civil War Politics in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (January 1954), 163-88.

their activities, submitting the results to the House Select Committee on Rebellious States.[10]

Jacksonville was central in other wartime controversies which made headlines or were argued in newspaper editorials. Early in the war, many Northerners considered Florida to be the ideal location for resolving the nation's Negro problems, and editorials argued the merits of colonizing the state with blacks.[11]

Military operations in the Jacksonville area also became the subject of editorials which were as much concerned with political questions as they were with tactical or strategic considerations. The Federal high command was criticized for occupying Jacksonville in 1862, then condemned for evacuating it after strong Unionist sentiments were demonstrated by a significant number of residents in the town and its environs.[12] The entire affair became the subject of a congressional investigation and provided ammunition for opponents of Lincoln's war policies.[13]

Again, in 1864, the reasons for the fourth and final occupation of Jacksonville, which led to the disastrous Federal defeat at Olustee, were investigated by the Joint Committee on the Conduct and Expenditures of the War. Simultaneously, Copperheads and anti-administration newspapers seized upon the Jacksonville occupation and Federal defeat to renew their attacks on Lincoln.[14]

Many of the events underlying these controversies were covered for northern newspapers by observers attached to army and naval units operating in the Department of the South, which included northeast Florida. The dispatches these correspondents wrote– often termed "letters" but published as news items– provide a wealth of material for historians which is not duplicated

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10. *House Executive Documents,* 38th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 18, pp. 1-185.
11. *New York Times,* October 3, 1862.
12. *Ibid.,* April 28, 1862.
13. Richard A. Martin, "Defeat in Victory: Yankee Experience in Early Civil War Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LIII (July 1974), 30-31; Edwin M. Stanton to Galusha A. Grow, April 28, 1862, in U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series I, Volume VI (Washington, 1882), 131, *House Documents,* 47th Cong., 1st sess., no. 63, p. 131. Generally, the *Times* was opposed to operations in northeast Florida.
14. *Senate Reports,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., no. 47, pp. 1-25: *New York Times,* March 7, 1864.

in more formal and standard sources such as the published official records of the war.

At least half a dozen accredited correspondents for the *New York Times* operated in and out of Jacksonville during and immediately following the war. Many other "stringers" or "special correspondents," some of whom were officers or enlisted men attached to various military units, submitted Florida dispatches routinely to the *Times.* As was the practice with newspapers of that era, the *Times* occasionally published reprints from southern newspapers, as well as letters from soldiers and other eye-witnesses which were sent to hometown papers and republished in the *Times.*[15]

These writers in most cases are relatively unknown.[16] Of the dozen correspondents who were permitted to sign their dispatches, all but one used whimsical-sounding pen names or initials, with the result that only three can be identified, and only one of them with certainty. What we learn of these three affords some insight into their qualifications as reporters and war correspondents.

Ben C. Truman, the only correspondent whose actual byline appears on any of the *New York Times* articles out of Jacksonville, worked for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* early in the war. He covered Sherman's march through Georgia and the fall of Atlanta; got news of the Confederate defeat at Franklin, Tennessee, to New York four days before the war department received word of the battle through official channels; and also gave the *Times* a scoop over its competitors when he dispatched the first news published in the North of Hood's defeat at Nashville.[17]

Many dispatches concerned with events in Georgia and Florida were datelined out of Port Royal or Hilton Head, South

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15. On February 28, 1864, for example, the *Times* published a letter by L. B. Wyman, an officer who saw action at Olustee and wrote, "our troops have been badly whipped." *Times* dispatches of March 1, 1864, included a letter from an artillery officer to his parents describing his battery's experience at Olustee. The *Times* picked up the letter after it was published in Rhode Island's *Providence Journal.* Not much later, on March 6, 1864, the *Times* published a long "Rebel Account of the Battle of Olustee" reprinted from the Lake City *Columbian.*
16. Chester M. Lewis, director of archives for the *Times,* could find very little about them in the newspaper's records and published histories. Lewis to the author, July 12, 1974.
17. Starr, *Reporting the Civil War,* 199, 268, 276-77; *New York Times,* December 27, 1864.

Carolina. Among the earliest of these, some were signed "H. J. W.," who may have been Henry J. Winser. This correspondent later achieved fame of sorts by paddling more than fifty miles in a leaky dugout to get his account of Farragut's victory at New Orleans aboard a steamship to New York for delivery to the *Times.*[18]

Dispatches signed "J.M.W.," and "Wopsey" came out of Port Royal and Fernandina in the period March-April 1862, and may have been by the same man, James M. Winchell. There is reason to believe that he enjoyed superior status as a *Times* correspondent. It was to Winchell that *Times* managing editor Alexander Wilson turned after the *Times* was forced to reprint dispatches from the competing *New York Tribune* which brought the first news of the bloody battle of Antietem. The failure of *Times* correspondents on the scene to get their dispatches through was attributed by Wilson to lack of organization. Accordingly, he ordered Winchell to instruct other *Times* correspondents on how to operate and organize their work more effectively in the field. The *Tribune's* Washington editor, Samuel Wilkeson, had let his correspondents know that there was only one way to report a battle properly, and that was to be "so closely observant of them as to be in danger of being killed." At one time, Winchell, along with Albert D. Richardson of the *Tribune,* appeared before President Lincoln as spokesmen on behalf of war correspondents operating with Federal armies who were being harrassed by certain officers who threatened to jail or shoot them as spies. In 1864, Winchell obtained a two-hour interview with Lincoln, which pinned down for the first time the fact that the President would seek renomination. But Winchell personally supported Chase for the nomination, and while working for the *Times,* doubled as the secretary for the Chase National Committee.[19]

Generally, the *Times* identified its Florida-related dispatches as "From Our Own Correspondent," "From Our Special Correspondent," or as "Correspondence of *The N.Y. Times,*" each with an appropriate dateline. Articles so labelled originated out of Port Royal, Fernandina, Tallahassee, Hilton Head, and Jack-

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18. Starr, *Reporting the Civil War,* 288; *New York Times,* January 3, 1862.
19. Starr, *Reporting the Civil War,* 122, 148-49, 255, 257; *New York Times,* March 15, 20; April 14, 1862.

sonville. Other articles were tagged, "From Our Jacksonville Correspondent," or "Our Jacksonville Correspondence," with variations when the items originated in other towns, including Fernandina and St. Augustine. Still other items carried signatures which now tickle the curiosity, including "Vagabond," "S.G.," "V.H.," "X.I.T.," "R.," "V.," and "Seminole."[20]

Possibly the most colorful and exciting writer who witnessed events in the Jacksonville area was a correspondent who signed himself only as "WHIT." His report of the fourth and final occupation of Jacksonville, and of Colonel Guy V. Henry's remarkable cavalry raid fifty miles into the state, which set the stage for the Battle of Olustee, covered the entire front page of the *Times* and carried over onto the back page. The fact that "WHIT" personally rode with Henry's troopers, sharing in the danger and excitement of their daredevil mission, may account for the length of his report. That the *Times* printed so much that came from WHIT's prolific pen is something else again, and speaks highly of the paper's regard for his work as well as the importance it attached to affairs in Florida.[21]

In the period 1862-1865, the *New York Times* carried more than 100 dispatches on the war in Jacksonville and northeast Florida. The paper also published fifteen editorials discussing or questioning the conduct of the war or national politics and military policies as they affected the area. Twice, the *Times* devoted its entire front page to eyewitness reports of the war in Florida, datelined Jacksonville, and largely concerned with events in, or directly related to, the town.[22]

Even relatively minor dispatches take on a larger significance in context of the bulk of this material. For example, on January

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20. Of the 129 Florida articles and editorial the author has found in the *Times* for the period under study, only twenty carried a signature of any kind.

21. *New York Times*, February 20, 1864. "WHIT" also contributed much to a second front page devoted to news of Florida and datelined Jacksonville on March 1, 1864. Yet there is no clue to his identity, although *Times* Archivist Chester M. Lewis would like to learn his real name. Lewis to the author, July 12, 1974. "WHIT's" account of what he saw and experienced while riding with Colonel Henry's troopers may be without parallel in the record of Civil War journalism in Florida. Even Wilkeson of the *Tribune* would have admired the *Times* man's performance as a war correspondent in being "so closely observant" in action and under fire "as to be in danger of being killed."

22. *Ibid.*, February 20, March 1, 1864. It was not unusual for Florida war news to run from two to six columns in the paper.

14, 1862, the *Times* carried an article based on an interview with Isaac Tatnall, an escaped slave and steamboat pilot who was familiar with coastal waters in north Florida and south Georgia. Tatnall's descriptions of conditions at Brunswick, Georgia, and of garrison strength and fortifications at Fernandina provided valuable information in advance of the Federal expeditions into these areas a few weeks later. The same article reported additional information gleaned from other escaped slaves or contrabands. Following this lead in studying the *Times* articles, one learns that these former slaves played key roles during the war as sources of vital information and as guides for Federal expeditionary forces operating in northeast Florida.

Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson went so far as to assign major credit for the success of his expedition up the St. Marys River to a former slave. Commanding a black regiment, the First South Carolina Volunteers, on a foray into south Georgia and north Florida along the St. Marys, Colonel Higginson reported: "Everything, even to the piloting of the vessel, and the selection of the proper points for cannonading, was done by my own soldiers; indeed, the real conductor of the whole expedition . . . was Corporal Robert Sutton, of Company G, formerly a slave upon the St. Mary's River– a man of extraordinary qualities, who needs nothing but a knowledge of the alphabet to entitle him to the most signal promotion. In every instance where I followed his advice the predicted result followed, and I never departed from it, however slightly, without having reason for subsequent regret."[23]

Unionists who managed to live out most of the war in northeast Florida provided similar services to Federal forces operating in the state. "WHIT" described one of the guides who led Colonel Henry from Jacksonville to Camp Finnegan, Baldwin, Barber's Station, Sanderson, and Lake City, as among "the most valuable auxiliaries we have in our command." The unnamed guide was said to be acquainted with "every road and bypath" and was described by "WHIT" as having "better military judgment than half of the Generals in the field." Each column in Henry's command had its own guide, some of whom probably

23. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1862, February 10, 1863.

were escaped slaves.[24] Among whites who offered assistance in this manner, John Alsop, a Jacksonville lumberman, was the most active. He probably was the military genius "WHIT" described who rode with Colonel Henry, and he is named as the guide who led a Federal expedition up the St. Marys River which seized 1,500,000 feet of dressed lumber and other valuable war material.[25]

As might be expected, the *Times* frequently reported on matters concerning blacks in occupied Florida, and, of course, slavery was referred to routinely in the paper's war dispatches and related editorials. But more than a score of articles contain significant information on the condition and progress of blacks in northeast Florida. These dispatches reporting military operations in and around Jacksonville in 1863 and 1864– including the Battle of Olustee– say much about the Negro as a soldier during the war, since black troops were predominant in these later expeditions to Florida.[26]

Times articles concerning blacks ranged from the story about Isaac Tatnall in 1862, to a report of a mutiny among black troops in Jacksonville in 1865. The mutiny occurred on October 28, after the war had ended, when men of the Third Colored Regiment rebelled over the treatment of one of their comrades who was hung by the thumbs for an infraction of regulations. Two of the mutineers were killed, the colonel commanding the regiment was shot through the hand, and a lieutenant was stabbed several times. Fourteen of the "ringleaders" were tried in proceedings aboard the military transport *St. Marys*, anchored off Jacksonville. Six were later executed at Fernandina, a like number were given prison sentences, and two were acquitted. Other mutinies among black troops, and riots among freedmen in Florida late in 1865, were reported in the *Times* and are in-

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24. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1864.
25. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1864. This item, reporting the St. Marys expedition, is signed "Seminole." The writer stated that Alsop "accompanied the expedition, as he did that of . . . the recent capture of Jacksonville and Baldwin." Alsop's "thorough acquaintance with the country and many of the people, rendered both expeditions an essential service."
26. Articles of more than routine interest regarding blacks in northeast Florida during and immediately after the war were published in the *Times* January 14, March 20, October 3, 19, 1862; January 9, February 10, March 21, 22, 25, April 1, 1863; January 19, February 20, March 1, 14, 1864; June 16, August 1, 17, October 1, November 17, 26, December 25, 1865.

dicative of the unrest and confusion that characterized the period immediately following the war.[27]

The reaction of Florida blacks to emancipation when it went into effect on January 1, 1863, was not reported in the *Times,* but the paper did carry a descriptive account of how the occasion was celebrated at Port Royal, South Carolina. Formal military and religious ceremonies preceded the barbecuing of ten oxen for 3,000 freedmen. These guests were served by officers of Colonel Higginson's regiment of Negro troops who were soon to see action in Florida. There followed a day of festivities including concerts, baseball, entertainment, and games of all kinds. Not all was rosy, however, and the *Times* correspondent noted that some of the blacks seemed suspicious and less than enthusiastic about emancipation. The correspondent learned why when he questioned his own "servant" and was told that the men were afraid they would now be drafted into the army. Significantly, the correspondent appended to his article a lengthy army directive outlining regulations for managing the employment of blacks on farms and plantations under military supervision.[28]

The *Times* launched its coverage of the war in Florida with several accounts of the occupation of Fernandina. Among these, "Wopsey's" is the most unusual and interesting. "It was a clear, starlit night," "Wopsey" wrote at one point, describing the Federal fleet preparing to sail for Florida. And later, as the warships entered St. Andrews Sound, "Wopsey" lyricized, "The fleet glided majestically around the point of . . . [Cumberland Island] while from the light-house, which stood near the point, floated the Stars and Stripes, placed there by some of the active little gunboats which had preceded us." "Wopsey's" account of the duel between the gunboat *Ottawa* and a train puffing out of Fernandina carrying the last contingent of men, women, and children trying to escape through the closing Federal ring, must have excited the awe and sympathy of *Times* readers. A body of Confederate cavalry, the Fourth Florida Regiment of Dragoons,

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27. *Ibid.,* November 17, 26, December 25, 1865; Jacksonville *Florida Union,* December 6, 1865.
28. *New York Times,* January 9, 1863. A similar article reporting how the blacks of St. Augustine celebrated the first anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation a year later, was published January 19, 1864.

escorting the train fired revolvers ineffectually at the *Ottawa* as it raced the locomotive to a point on the Amelia River where the tracks crossed a bridge to the mainland. Then riflemen inside the train fired at the gunboat, prompting a barrage from the *Ottawa's* heavy guns which struck a flatcar loaded with household goods and furniture, killing two young men sitting on a sofa. "Wopsey's" dispatch contained a variety of information including the story of how a Federal army surgeon cared for the bodies of the two young men killed on the train, and assisted relatives at their burial. "Wopsey" also described the "absurd antics" of navy "Jack-tars" when they were allowed on shore to stretch their legs. Among other things, the correspondent reported, the sailors "captured" a locomotive outside the town and twenty of them pulled it back into Fernandina with ropes.[29]

Another *Times* correspondent's account of the last train out of Fernandina added the information that when the *Ottawa's* shells began falling near the cars, a number of passengers jumped off "and took to the bush." One of these, it was reported, "is said to have been [the] late Senator Yulee of Florida, accompanied by his servant." Several of Yulee's letters later turned up when "Wopsey" personally searched a house in Fernandina belonging to Confederate General Joseph Finegan. The letters, "Wopsey" declared, were likely written by Yulee "at his seat in the Senate" and were described as "teeming with rank treason."[30]

Times editors probably enjoyed the references to Yulee's discomfiture. In an editorial of March 20, 1862, following the occupation of Fernandina, the *Times* referred to Yulee as "that unhung knave," and accused him of being the ringleader of "a score or two of ambitious rebels" who were responsible for Florida's secession. "It was in the National Capitol that the conspiracy to take Florida out of the Union was hatched, and the Sovereignty Convention at Tallahassee but followed the promptings of these conspirators," the *Times* article declared.

Whatever its personal prejudices, the *Times* did not allow them to interfere with its mission of keeping its readers as well informed as possible. Two weeks after the paper condemned Yulee, it reprinted an article from the *Mobile* (Alabama) *Reg-*

29. *Ibid.,* March 15, 1862.
30. *Ibid.,* March 11, 15, 1862.

ister which reported Senator Yulee in an entirely different light: "The evacuation of Fernandina was conducted very badly, and much was lost owing to the inefficiency of the Colonel in command. Ex-Senator Yulee, President of the Florida Railroad, was untiring in his efforts to save the property of the citizens. He was the last man to leave Fernandina, and was on the train that was fired on. He escaped by great efforts, and projected an expedition on Monday night to bring off the train that had been left, which would have been entirely successful had not the railroad bridge been set on fire by order of Col. Hopkins, in command, just as the train reached it. All the Florida troops need to insure success is a worthy commander."[31]

Times coverage of the war in Jacksonville was unusually thorough. For example, in a forty-day period during March and April 1862, the paper published nineteen items about the town and its first occupation and evacuation, including two dispatches from southern newspapers. On March 20, the date the first news of Jacksonville's surrender was reported, the *Times* carried five separate dispatches, including material from its own correspondent on the scene, the navy's report on the expedition, an editorial on "The Conquest of Florida," and the full proclamation of Jacksonville Mayor H. H. Hoeg, informing his people that their town would not be defended. The mayor's proclamation stated, in part: "It is the opinion of our most experienced and intelligent citizens . . . that, if the enemy meet with no resistance, private property will be respected, and unarmed citizens will be allowed to pursue their usual occupations . . . if, after we have offered no resistance, and given no just provocation, violence should be committed, the whole blame will rest upon the aggressors."

The *Times* responded in an editorial headed, "Light Under the Southern Cross," which observed that Mayor Hoeg apparently would not have been surprised "if the National troops, on taking possession of . . . [Jacksonville] should proceed to rob and murder on every hand." The conduct of both northern and southern troops provided no basis for such an assumption, the *Times* noted, and added, Mayor Hoeg "had undoubtedly been brought up in the characteristic Southern notion that a 'Yankee'

31. *Ibid.,* March 23, April 6, 1862.

was the impersonation *[sic]* of all that was mean and vile; and, since the rebellion, what could he have known of us except from the wretched Southern newspapers, who have never found any epithet toe *[sic]* vile to be applied to us." The editorial concluded with the thought that it: "has been a constant and well-founded complaint . . . that the people of the different sections [of the nation] were ignorant of each other. The war seems to be meeting this complaint, It is rather troublesome sending so many teachers down there to teach the lesson."[32]

Later in the war, when Federal troops actually set fire to Jacksonville, destroying the courthouse, churches, and other buildings and residences, the *Times* deplored the act, but directed its major editorial emphasis against other newspapers which were using the incident to discredit President Lincoln's management of the war. The *Times* branded as "exaggerations" the reports in other newspapers which said the town had been completely destroyed. In an editorial on "The Burning of Jacksonville," the *Times* referred its readers to an official military report which assigned partial blame for the fires to "Secessionists" and stated that, in any case, no more than twenty-five buildings had been destroyed. "It is certainly unfortunate that we should have among us a class of patriots who will twist and exaggerate an insignificant affair like this into one of the most shocking Union atrocities– to the infinite infamy of our army and the disgrace of the whole nation."[33] Altogether the *Times* devoted four editorials to the first occupation and evacuation of Jacksonville, one to the third occupation and burning of the town, and six to the fourth occupation and the Olustee disaster.[34]

The second occupation of Jacksonville, in October 1862, including the duel between Federal gunboats and Confederate guns on St. Johns Bluff, was reported in four dispatches.[35] Seven articles were devoted to the progress of the third occupation and

32. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1862.
33. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1863. The third occupation of Jacksonville and the evacuation and burning of the town were covered by the *Times* in articles on March 21, 22, and 25; and April 1, 8, 17, 1863.
34. *Ibid.*, March 20, 25, 26; April 20, 1862; April 17, 1863; February 4, 13, 28, 29, March 7, 15, 1864.
35. *Ibid.*, October 10, 19, 20, 1862. Two dispatches were published on the 19th.

burning of Jacksonville in 1863.[36] Twenty-two articles were published covering the fourth and final occupation of Jacksonville and the Battle of Olustee. These latter stories were largely the work of the redoubtable "WHIT." His description of the final occupation of Jacksonville and Colonel Henry's cavalry raid into the interior, runs to twenty-one single-spaced typewritten pages in transcription, and is a dramatic eyewitness account of one of the most daring exploits in Florida Civil War history. Another dispatch by "WHIT," half as long again, reported the Battle of Olustee as he saw it.[37]

Two major articles published during the first occupation of Jacksonville in 1862 dwelt at length on the attempts of loyal residents of the town to repudiate Florida's secession government, adopt a new state constitution, and return Florida to the

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36. *Ibid.*, February 10, March 21, 22, 25, April 1, 8, 17, 1863. The article on February 10 concerned a Federal expedition along the St. Marys River, which set the stage for the third Jacksonville occupation by exposing the black troops who conducted both operations to their first enemy fire.

37. *Ibid.*, February 13, 14, 20, 23, 27, March 1, 6, 8, 13, 14, 16, 17, 24, April 1, 12, 13, 18, 1864. On several occasions more than one dispatch was published. On February 20 and March 1 the paper's entire front page was devoted to Florida war news out of Jacksonville. The author traced 129 relevant items published in the *Times* in the period under study. About half a dozen of these could be described as "miscellaneous information," very brief in nature. For example, when Vice President Hamlin petitioned President Lincoln on Eli Thayer's behalf (December 18, 1862) the *Times* devoted one sentence of its Washington roundup to the incident, under a sub-heading, "The Governorship of Florida." During the period February-March 1864, when the *Times* published six editorials and twenty-two dispatches about Jacksonville and Olustee, the phrase "all quiet on the Potomac" was echoed by an occasional brief notice that "everything is quiet at Jacksonville." Three items in the collection are background material, such as the Emancipation Day celebration of blacks at Port Royal (January 9, 1863), and a petition from the black community at New Bern, North Carolina, which reflects attitudes, problems, and conditions of freed slaves in the South at the end of the war. Certain presidential orders and Federal regulations affecting Jacksonville and northeast Florida are also included, among them President Johnson's orders lifting trade restrictions, opening southern ports, and pardoning certain classes of southern citizens. Of the 129 articles in the collection, eighty-four were war communiques or dispatches out of Jacksonville, many quite detailed. Fifteen were editorials. All of this material illustrates the wealth of information available about Jacksonville in Civil War papers of the North. The *Times*, of course, devoted as much attention to other parts of the state. These materials, used in support of standard references which have been worked and reworked, particularly by local historians, help fill gaps, link hitherto unrelated events, and provide new reservoirs of information which can be used to acquire better insights and perspectives on the war.

Union.[38] When the Unionists were forced to flee into exile because of the Federal evacuation, the *Times* reported the arrival of about fifty of the refugees at New York, as well as the action taken by the city council to provide funds for their relief. Discussing the plight of the refugees, New York Mayor George Opdyke told the city council that the Jacksonville Unionists had been encouraged by army occupation authorities to declare their loyalty openly, and were assisted in taking steps to reject Florida's secession government and reconstruct a loyal one of their own. The abandonment of the town placed these Unionists at the mercy of Confederates waiting for the evacuation, forcing them to flee. Consequently, Mayor Opdyke said, the city owed "some substantial evidence of the public sympathy" to these "destitute fugitives from a relentless despotism" until such time as the national government could provide for their needs. After a move was defeated to appropriate $2,500 for the refugees, the city council approved an immediate grant of $1,000.[39]

In late 1862 and early 1863, the *Times* reported the details of Unionist meetings held in public halls like New York's Cooper Institute, which featured speeches by such luminaries as Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant, Cassius Clay, and Eli Thayer. Twice, at meetings in the Brooklyn Academy of Music and the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Jacksonville Unionist Phillip Fraser was among the platform guests, spearheading the personal campaign of his fellow Jacksonville refugees for military intervention to return Florida to the Union. Fraser's message to the cheering New York audiences was simple and direct. He believed in "Union and Liberty, one and inseparable"; agreed to any solution for an end to slavery; and declared martially: "Buckle on your armor. Cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war!"[40]

When the final occupation of Jacksonville in 1864 made it possible for many of the displaced Unionists to return home, the *Times* continued to follow their activities. During the summer of 1864 the paper reported at length on the proceedings of a Union convention in Jacksonville which appointed a committee of five

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38. *Ibid.*, March 31, April 2, 1862.
39. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1862.
40. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1862; January 25, February 7, 8, 1863. A wealthy attorney, Fraser had lived in Jacksonville about ten years prior to the war and was intendant (or mayor) of the town in 1855.

men "to take [responsibility for] all necessary action and measures to organize a state government for the State of Florida." The Jacksonville convention also elected delegates who were pledged to support Lincoln at the Republican national convention, held at Baltimore that same month.[41]

As has been noted, the *Times'* coverage of the final occupation of Jacksonville and the Battle of Olustee, was comprehensive and might be termed definitive in a journalistic sense. This campaign is also interesting, from a journalistic point of view, because of its impact on *Times* editorial policy. Prior to the expedition, the *Times* consistently opposed Federal operations along the southern coast, including Florida. The paper had used prior operations against Jacksonville– and subsequent abandonments of the town– as examples of poor military strategy and wasted effort. The *Times* repeatedly called for the concentration of Federal strength against Confederate strongpoints, whether major southern cities or armies. It warned against the diffusion of Federal arms in coastal and other secondary operations, especially when repeated experience proved that these had little or no effect upon the outcome of the war. At one point a *Times* correspondent reflected, in a dispatch out of Hilton Head, that the "great mistake" of General T. W. Sherman, in command of overall Federal forces which took Jacksonville for the first time in 1862, had been "scattering his force amongst the unimportant islands and towns of the coast." This made a reconcentration necessary, resulting in the abandonment of Jacksonville. "We know how it worked at *Jacksonville;* how every Union family that could followed the troops when withdrawn, sacrificing the most of their property to rebel vengeance: and how those that *could not* leave suffered in consequence."[42]

When news of the fourth occupation of Jacksonville reached the *Times* in February 1864, the paper revived its objections to such operations in an editorial headed, "The Scatteration Policy Again." Pointing out that it could see no wisdom in the move, nor calculate any "adequate object" for the expedition, the

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41. *Ibid.,* June 4, 8, 9, 1864. The convention admitted the Florida delegation but denied its members voting privileges. Before the convention adjourned, one of the Florida men, Calvin Robinson, was appointed to the Republican National Committee.
42. *Ibid.,* April 28, 1862. See also *Ibid.,* April 20, 1862, February 4, 1864.

Times reminded readers that: "Jacksonville has already been twice *[sic]* occupied by our troops, and twice abandoned as useless . . . . There is not the smallest military importance in Florida."[43]

When the defeat at Olustee triggered a barrage of criticism against Lincoln's administration, the *Times* reconsidered. Noting that one of the objects of the campaign was to cut off the supply of Florida beef to the Confederate armies, the paper reversed itself in an editorial on "The Real Military Importance of Florida." Published shortly after the defeat at Olustee, the editorial stated: "We trust that, despite the ill-luck that has met the opening of the Florida campaign, the work may still be kept up, if its results should promise to be really as important as surmised" [in severing Confederate supply lines]. Continuing its defense of Lincoln, the *Times* published two additional editorials on the subject. One acquitted Lincoln of any blame or responsibility for the defeat at Olustee, placing the burden solely on the military commanders involved. Labelling Copperheads as the party of "disunion" and defending Lincoln against their charges that Olustee only proved the futility of the war as a means to peace, the *Times* declared in another editorial that the contrary was true. The defeat at Olustee was proof, the paper said, that armed force was the only hope for concluding the war successfully in the face of such determined opposition throughout the Confederacy, including the backwoods of Florida.[44]

As time was to show, the final occupation of Jacksonville worked to the town's advantage. Under military auspicies, Jacksonville was rebuilt quickly. Business and commerce were restored and relative prosperity set in long before other southern towns had cleared away the rubble of defeat and lifted the paralysis of trade that followed in its wake. Less than three weeks after Jacksonville was occupied for the final time, and long before the war ended, the *Times* reported that the town was "beginning to assume quite a business aspect. Traders have succeded *[sic]* in obtaining permits to land their goods, and it is stated that a party contemplates opening a large hotel."[45]

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43. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1864. There had been three prior occupations of Jacksonville in March 1862, October 1862, and March 1863.
44. *Ibid.*, February 28, March 7, 15, 1864.
45. *Ibid.*, February 23, 1864. Some boarding houses may have opened by this time, but it would be several years before a hotel was built.

There were still hard times ahead, but by July 1865, only a few weeks after Florida's formal capitulation, Jacksonville was reported as "full of people, black and white," who were described as "generally healthy" though "much exposed by the disorganization of society, and many privations and inconveniences." The town was sufficiently recovered to mount a grand Fourth of July celebration, complete with a steamboat excursion to Green Cove Springs in which 200 citizens participated, having "a grand time, returning by moonlight about midnight."[46] By the end of July, railroad and mail service had been restored, and in mid-August the *Times* reported: "Jacksonville is recovering something of its ancient prosperity. New saw-mills are in operation, and large quantities of goods have been brought to the place." Although "stiff prices" still prevailed, the *Times* noted that refugees were returning to their homes in greater numbers, and that many northerners, "mostly discharged officers and soldiers, have gone into business here . . . . Sea Island cotton, has done more than anything else to get business in motion, and direct attention from the calamities of the war. . . . Business in Jacksonville, and to some extent, throughout Florida, is assuming its former character. New saw-mills have been built, schooners are taking on board loads of lumber, new buildings are going up, our stores are well filled with goods, new warehouses have been completed, and the conversation of the people has changed from war to business."[47]

In the same manner, war news had given way in the columns of the *Times* to peacetime matters. Appropriately, the last Florida dispatch published in 1865, under the byline of Ben C. Truman, is unique in the collection under discussion. It is the only article concerning Jacksonville or northeast Florida published in the period 1862-1865 which makes no direct reference to the war, the military occupation of the state, or even to reconstruction politics. The article reads like an account of Florida during the Golden Age of Jacksonville tourism in the 1880s. Truman advertises the state's beauties, its mild climate, the health of its people, and the low incidence of disease, using statistical charts to support his conclusions. The *Times'* last mention of Jackson-

46. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1865.
47. *Ibid.*, August 1, 17, 1865.

ville is positive, reporting the arrival of the steamer *Helen Getty* with nine teachers for the "colored schools" of the town, making fourteen in all to serve an average attendance of "about two hundred and fifteen scholars."[48]

In concluding his long description of Florida for the tourist or investor, Truman declared: "I must say that I bespeak for Florida a glorious future. I predict that peace, prosperity, wealth and happiness will be her lot. Her rich lands will come rapidly under cultivation, and increase tenfold in value; her noble waters will be thronged with the appliances of commerce; population, such as she desires, will flow steadily into her borders; cities and villages, and palatial mansions will dot her landscapes; schools and churches, and public institutions will be her boast; and a refined society, living in affluence and comfort, will grace this land of flowers, encompassed by ocean and gulf. What may we not expect of her, now that she has FREEDOM for her guiding star?"[49]

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48. *Ibid,* December 27, 1865.
49. *Ibid.*

VICENTE PAZOS, AGENT FOR THE AMELIA ISLAND FILIBUSTERS, 1818

by CHARLES H. BOWMAN, JR.*

THE APPEARANCE OF A North American squadron under John D. Henley and a land force under James Bankhead at the mouth of the St. Marys River on December 18, 1817, with orders to move against Luis Aury and his establishment on Amelia Island, compelled the filibusters to abandon posthaste their ill-fated Republic of the Floridas. Aury had occupied the island since September under the flag of Mexico. It was obvious that the North American fighting power was superior to any that Aury could muster and that surrender of the island was inevitable.

The assembly of representatives sitting at Fernandina consequently proceeded to gather as much evidence as it could, in the time that it had, to refute the charges of President James Monroe that the port had become a hotbed of piracy and smuggling. The testimony of respectable citizens in the nearby Georgia town of St. Marys as to the correct conduct of the patriots was collected by the assembly and inserted into its minutes. On December 19, Dr. J. Parsons, Francis Young, Edmund Richardson, and Joshua Hickman– residents of St. Marys or its environs– certified that they had no knowledge of any law of the Republic of the Floridas that encouraged the introduction of slaves from Africa into any territory. Several Spanish vessels had been captured that were coming from the African coast with slaves, but that was another matter. In no instance, to the knowledge of the subscribers, had a slave escaped from the United States to Fernandina, "but he has immediately been restored on application being made." Furthermore, the patriots had never intended to make that port a place for smuggling goods into the United

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States; the principal captured property, in point of fact, had been brought to and entered in the customhouse at St. Marys.

The next day two other residents in St. Marys, D. Lewis and James Monk, gave similar testimony of the honorable deportment of the citizens of the infant republic. Lewis took the opportunity to point out that he had read many erroneous statements in American newspapers against the character and behavior of the persons in authority at Fernandina. He considered it "no more than an act of justice to the individuals composing that government, to state, that as regards any encouragement given to runaway negroes, from the United States, a publick order was issued by the authorities there, at an early period, to prevent that evil."[1]

When the Mexican flag was lowered at Fernandina on December 23, Aury informed Monroe that only because his force was inferior he had offered no resistance. His concern was to avoid "the loss of many worthy republicans, on both sides." The surrender of Amelia Island was, nonetheless, a painful thing to him: "In consequence of this event, no less unpleasing than unexpected, and in order that the government of the United States may be correctly informed of the grounds, on which this part of East Florida; was dismembered from the dominions of the king of Spain, by the arms of the independent states of South America, I have appointed citizen don Vicente Pazos, to undertake the said duty, and at the same time, to secure and demand reparation for, and place on a safe and sure footing, the injured rights of the said states."[2]

After Pazos's appointment as agent had been confirmed by the assembly, he was entrusted with a number of papers, including a packet for the Washington government which consisted of Aury's letter to Monroe and copies of his various commissions, the report of the committee chaired by Pazos in

1. Certificates of Sundry Inhabitants of St. Mary, Georgia, dated December 19 and 20, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States, from the Accession of George Washington to the Presidency, Exhibiting a Complete View of Our Foreign Relations since that Time,* 3rd ed., 12 vols. (Boston, 1819), XII, 433-34; State Department, Territorial Papers, Florida, p. 71, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
2. For the sake of appearances, Aury ordered a gun with a blank cartridge fired when the United States troops went ashore at Fernandina. *City of Washington Gazette,* January 10, 1818; Aury to Monroe, December 23, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents,* XII, 401-02.

Fernandina to investigate the troublesome *Tentativa* affair, and the certificates of the several men in St. Marys. He left Fernandina on December 27 aboard the brig Commodore *Porter* bound for New York where he arrived January 6, 1818. Pazos turned over several of the documents to William Coleman, editor of the *New-York Evening Post,* who published them. Coleman noted that the letter that Pazos and his fellow representatives had addressed, under Aury's name to Henley and Bankhead, protesting the occupation of Amelia Island contained "a well-written and strong appeal to the executive." The strongly-worded communication produced a sensation in Washington and Baltimore. Coleman called on Monroe to furnish an explanation for his action "satisfactory to the laws of nations." In the meantime, the editor remained "yet at a loss for the constitutional authority of the president, to order the taking forcible possession of the territory of a power [the so-called republics of the South] still at peace" with the United States.[3]

Before Pazos reached Washington, a group of congressmen were voicing disapproval of Monroe's policy toward the patriots. Henry Clay and others attacked the President's annual message of December 2 in which he announced his decision to take Amelia Island. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs called for the papers dealing with the situation at both Amelia Island and Galveston. Monroe submitted the material on December 15. It was nearly a month later before he announced the seizure of Amelia Island on grounds that an American law of January 15, 1811, prohibited any foreign power from occupying the Floridas. In time, Manuel Hermenegildo de Aguirre, the official agent from Buenos Aires, criticized Monroe's decision as "an invasion of the common sovereignty over which Spain and her revolted colonies were contending in civil war." He did admit

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3. *New-York Evening Post,* January 6, 7, 1818; Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848,* 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), IV, 38-39. As late as March 31, 1818, letters addressed to Pazos remained in the post office at St. Marys. Savannah *Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette,* April 8, 1818.
4. Charles Carroll Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822: A study of the relations of the United States with Spain and with the rebel Spanish Colonies* (New York, 1937), 135; *State Papers and Publick Documents,* XI, 343-88, 395-411; *New-York Evening Post, for the Country,* January 14, 1818.

to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams that he was not speaking for his government in regard to the Floridas. That bit of hedging proved wise, for the Buenos Aires authorities and Simón Bolívar disavowed the whole Amelia Island adventure and saw in the measure taken by the United States the manifestation of "the most friendly disposition."[5]

Pazos left New York for Philadelphia to confer with the agents Lino de Clemente of Venezuela and Manuel Torres of New Granada about the best way of protesting Monroe's action against Amelia Island.[6] On January 15, 1818, Clemente gave Pazos a copy of Gregor MacGregor's commission authorizing him to conquer the Floridas, which he and two other Spanish American "deputies" had signed, to help prove that the island had been taken from the Spaniards by a competent authority. Clemente also called on Pazos to protest in the name of his government the invasion and other acts of the Monroe administration contrary to the rights of the Spanish American republics. The President's motives, wrote Clemente, demonstrated that his sole object was the acquisition of the Floridas. With Spain nearly exhausted in the struggle to retain her American colonies, it was propitious for Monroe to argue that the patriots lacked authority to take possession of Amelia Island and Galveston, that these establishments had served as shelters for pirates and smugglers, and that no foreign power could be allowed to station itself in the Floridas, referring to an act passed in 1811 "which is inapplicable to the present case."[7]

Pazos carried several letters written on his behalf before his departure from Fernandina. On December 23 Pedro Gual of Venezuela wrote a letter of introduction to William Thornton, head of the patent office in Washington: "Mr. Pazos has been many years ago engaged in the revolution of S. America, and is

5. Samuel Flagg Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions from Buenos Aires to the United States, 1811-1824," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XLIX (April 1939), 46n, 63-65.
6. Aury had harangued the assembly of representatives in Fernandina on December 12 on the legitimacy of his activities and the history of his exploits. He maintained that "the establishment at Galveston was legally formed" and believed the same was true vis-à-vis Amelia Island. *City of Washington Gazette*, January 22, 1818; *State Papers and Publick Documents*, XII, 422-23.
7. Clemente to Pazos, January 15, 1818, State Department, Miscellaneous Letters, folio 91, National Archives; *State Papers and Publick Documents*, XII, 422-23.

worthy of the esteem of all those who like you feels *[sic]* so much interest for the cause of your Southern brethren."[8] Gual and Aury, on December 26, informed Clemente of the nature of Pazos's mission. Pazos was also recommended to Thornton by R. Gravier of New York City, who held power of attorney for one of the privateers from Buenos Aires.[9]

Thornton agreed to assist Pazos in his work. In an article written for a Washington paper he noted that the men who had directed the Fernandina operations could furnish "such testimonials of their regularity and attention to the laws of nations and particularly to those of the United States, that they defy an instance to be produced of reprehensible conduct."[10] Thornton, moreover, introduced Pazos into Washington's social and intellectual circles where he became friendly with such diverse personages as Ferdinando Fairfax, son of Lord Fairfax; Dr. David Ott, Washington's most prominent pharmacist; and the Reverend Dr. Burgess Allison, the Baptist minister who was serving as chaplain of the House of Representatives.[11]

Pazos devoted the greater part of his time in late January and early February to writing his *Exposition, Remonstrance and Protest* directed to Monroe.[12] Available to offer suggestions were – in addition to Thornton– the editor Baptis Irvine, the merchant John Laborde, Commodore David Porter, and one Dr. Rouse of Charleston who had accompanied MacGregor to Amelia Island. The work completed on February 7, Pazos asked

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8. Gual to Thornton, December 23, 1817, Papers of William Thornton, V, 792-93, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
9. Gravier to Thornton, February 18, 1818, *ibid.*, V, 802-03; February 20, 1818, *ibid.*, V, 804-05.
10. "On Amelia Island &c.," February 9, 1818, written by Thornton under the pseudonym "Franklin" for the Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, but never published, *ibid.*, V, 795-98. Thornton's wife observed after his death: "He was a friend to the oppressed of all nations and colors and zealously forwarded to the utmost of his abilities . . . the emancipation of the states of South America." Anna Maria Thornton, "History and Life of Dr. William Thornton," *ibid.*, [18-19].
11. Thornton to Pazos, September 30, 1820, *ibid.*, V, 914; Thornton to John Quincy Adams, February 17, 1820, *ibid.*, V, 889-90.
12. Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance and Protest of Don Vincente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents Established at Amelia Island, in Florida, under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South America; with an Appendix* (Philadelphia, 1818). Pazos was comfortably ensconced in the Seven Buildings at Pennsylvania Avenue and Nineteenth Street. See Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: Village and Capital, 1800-1878* (Princeton, 1962), 78-79.

Irvine, who was to visit Secretary of State Adams that day, to inquire when and how he could present his paper to the President. Adams offered to present it personally to Monroe.[13] The next day Pazos delivered a manuscript copy of the *Exposition* in Spanish, along with supporting documents and a cover letter.[14] Monroe received the material on February 9.

In a foreword to his *Exposition,* Pazos indicated that he had authority "to expose to the chief executive magistrate of the confederate republics of the United States of North America" the circumstances of the conquest of Amelia Island, to protest "the aggression, by force of arms" and the occupation of the island by American troops, and to demand reparations. Aury, on December 29, 1817, estimated the value of the property that he and other patriots had relinquished as between $35,000 and $40,000.[15] Pazos added that, "unhappy as the present occurrences are," he still expressed his "most sincere attachment to the American nation, and respect for its chief magistrate," and described the recent situation as "the quarrels of brethren."[16]

The fact remained, however, that Monroe in his message of December 2 to Congress questioned the legality of the Amelia Island action by the South American republics. Pazos argued that under international law no state could interfere in the affairs or decide upon the rights of another unless previous consent had been granted. No such consent pertained in the case of Amelia Island: "That the republics of the south are at war with Spain, is a notorious fact; that the United States, until the conclusion of the contest, ought to consider them as belligerent powers; that as such, the president acknowledges them in his message;– and, as in similar cases, it has always been customary to respect present possession, it belongs to the respective authorities at war alone to take cognizance of the conduct of their officers."[17]

As belligerent powers, either Spain or the republics had the right to invade the other's territory, and no neutral country had

13. Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 53; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser,* March 23, 1818.
14. Pazos to Adams, February 8, 1818, State Department, Territorial Papers, Florida, 104, National Archives.
15. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition,* 3; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser,* February 18, 1818.
16. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition,* 4.
17. *Ibid.,* 17.

authority to question them. The Floridas and Amelia Island belonged to Spain. Since the island was taken in the name of the republics, its occupation by the patriots was legal, and the United States had no right to interpose itself. These were the arguments set forth by Pazos. He noted Aury's liberal policies. Aury had ordered rations on one occasion to be distributed among the inhabitants. No matter that the United States was supposed to be negotiating at the time for the acquisition of the Floridas, it could not alter the validity of the conquest. As long as a Spanish possession had not openly and lawfully detached itself from the Spanish crown, it was subject "to all the operations of war." The United States, Pazos insisted, could not have lost what it did not actually possess. Since the cession of the Floridas had not taken place, the Americans had no right to that territory.[18]

Pazos denied that Monroe had any reason to think that a republic on Amelia Island would become a dangerous neighbor. Even if the location of the island favored the smuggling trade and the introduction of slaves into the United States, American occupation could not be justified any more than the occupation of, say, Cuba. The authorities in Fernandina, in any case, had prohibited "the infamous traffic" in slaves and would never have suffered it to continue on the island. As to the objection to the disgraceful character given the patriots from various quarters, Pazos could only regret that such "has always been the fate of those who struggle for liberty; their sacrifices are numbered and praised by posterity," while their own generation "seems to consider them as entitled only to derision or reproach."[19]

Pazos also protested the seizure by the U. S. brig *Saranac* of "private properties belonging to the citizens of the new republics, captured in the waters of the Floridas, without any other right than that of force."[20] He demanded the restitution of all the vessels taken by the United States navy and indemnification for the losses suffered by owners of cargoes and vessels held by the United States for adjudication. He further demanded a just estimate by a joint commission of all public property found on the island when the patriots arrived to be paid by the United States. He also wanted the total expense of the patriot expedition

18. *Ibid.,* 17-19.
19. *Ibid.,* 22, 24-27.
20. *Ibid.,* 28.

to be levied against the United States. The agent ended his *Exposition* by renewing his petition for a redress of grievances.[21]

Accompanying the *Exposition* were a number of documents: copies of MacGregor's commission, sundry commissions of Aury, Pazos's commissions from Aury and Clemente, the report of his committee investigating the *Tentativa* controversy, and certificates of residents in St. Marys as to the conduct of the patriots. One English translation of the material was made by John H. Purviance, a clerk in the state department, and another was soon published in Philadelphia.[22] The *Exposition* was given much publicity by the American press and was supported by Henry Clay in Congress, but its two most important readers were unmoved by any of Pazos's arguments.

To Monroe and Adams the Amelia Island episode had been distasteful from the start. The issuing of MacGregor's commission in itself, as Adams saw it, was an outrage upon the neutrality and sovereignty of the United States. He especially found Clemente's actions irksome; had he been an accredited agent of a recognized government, his signing of the commission would have been highly offensive.[23] Authorization of acts of war against a foreign nation was a power "not even a sovereign can lawfully exercise within the dominions of another in amity with him, without his consent." To make matters worse, Adams thought the language "disrespectful" in the letter commissioning Pazos to protest in the name of the Republic of Venezuela. Pazos was also censured for using the example of Franklin in Europe to justify MacGregor's commission. Pazos, declared Adams, definitely erred, for "this example, instead of furnishing an exception, affords a direct confirmation of the principle now advanced. The commissions issued by the diplomatic agents of

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21. *Ibid.*, 28-39.
22. The original manuscript of the *Exposition*, in Spanish and in Pazos's handwriting, is to be found in State Department, Territorial Papers, Florida, 90-103, National Archives. For an English translation, *see State Papers and Publick Documents*, XII, 401-35. Editor William Duane of Philadelphia was a great one for discovering discrepancies between the official translations of the Amelia Island documents and those made under the careful eyes of Torres and himself. Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 7, 1818. On the title page of the Philadelphia version of the *Exposition* were quotations from the first two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence of 1776.
23. Adams to Smith Thompson, May 20, 1819, Navy Department, Private Letters, I, 271, National Archives.

the United States in France, during our revolutionary war, were granted with the knowledge and consent of the French Government, of which the following resolution from the Secret Journal of Congress of 23d December, 1776, is decisive proof: '*Resolved*, That the commissioners be authorized to arm and fit for war any number of vessels, not exceeding six, at the expense of the United States, to war upon British property; and that commissions and warrants be for this purpose sent to the commissioners: *provided the commissioners be well satisfied this measure will not be disagreeable to the court* of *France.*' "[24]

President Monroe resented the fact brought out in Pazos's *Exposition* that the patriot project to seize Florida was developed and executed at a time when it was understood that Spain had decided to cede the area to the United States. Their main aim was to prevent the cession from taking place, and, to Monroe, the "whole proceeding in every state and circumstance was unlawful."[25] Neither the President nor the secretary of state felt inclined to hurry in giving Pazos an answer. They certainly had no intention of being put on the defensive.

His patience spent, Pazos finally spoke with Monroe who immediately referred him to Adams. On February 27 Pazos went to Adams's office to ask if perhaps Commodore Porter had spoken of him yet. The commodore had not. Adams assured Pazos that he would inform him of the President's decision as soon as possible.

The politeness with which Monroe and Adams received Pazos indicated to at least one commentator a significant new departure, for when Aguirre had presented his credentials as agent from Buenos Aires, his reception had been quite different.[26] Even so, when five days elapsed and Pazos had heard nothing, he wrote Adams. With Thornton's help he composed a letter in Spanish and, in order to facilitate a speedy response, he also sent along an English translation. Once more he insisted on

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24. "John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, to President James Monroe," January 28, 1819, William R. Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations,* 3 vols. (New York, 1925), I, 89-90.
25. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe,* 7 vols. (New York, 1898-1903), VI, 39.
26. Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 55, 57; *City of Washington Gazette,* February 19, 1818.

the return of patriot property taken "on ground entirely independent" of the United States and now held, along with the proceeds from sales already made, in that republic without any just reason.[27]

As it turned out, Pazos's letter was not needed. The cabinet on March 3 suggested that Adams draft a reply to be reviewed by the President.[28] This was done two days later. Pazos could take no comfort in the communication, which stated flatly that Monroe saw "no reason for revoking any of the measures which have been [taken] . . . and nothing that requires any other answer to your representations."[29]

Adams's letter did not stop Pazos from having recourse to another branch of the government, i.e., Congress. Even before he submitted his *Exposition,* it was reported from Washington that Pazos contemplated such an appeal.[30] On March 6 he finished preparing a memorial listing "evidences of injuries, so grievous to the cause of liberty, and to the progress of the Revolution, which involves the happiness of so many millions." He stated that the Florida action had been conceived in Philadelphia as a means of severing communication between Cuba and Puerto Rico and the United States, thus paralyzing the Spanish in an important part of their empire. The "ardent desires of those islanders for emancipation from the most cruel oppressor" would thereby be realized. The attack on Amelia Island was seen as "the most direct mode of obtaining possession of the contemplated object." According to Pazos, the supplies of Spanish General Pablo Morillo, whose troops were pitted against Bolívar, were furnished chiefly from Cuba, and that island derived many of those supplies from the United States by way of the Floridas. Moreover, the money needed to prosecute the war against the patriots in Venezuela and New Granada was obtained through loans from the inhabitants of Cuba. Those creditors judged that, if the patriots could take Amelia Island, they would be able "to possess themselves of the rest of the Floridas, and finally Cuba, long ready for revolt." The capture

27. Pazos to Adams, March 4, 1818, Thornton Papers, V, 806-09.
28. Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 59-60.
29. Adams to Pazos, March 5, 1818, State Department, Domestic Letters, 129, National Archives. See also *Niles' Weekly Register,* May 2, 1818.
30. Lexington *Kentucky Gazette,* February 21, 1818.

of Amelia Island was part of a grand plan and not motivated by "causes of a confined, a private, and even of a sinister nature," as many American newspapermen– who imputed motives of "the most diabolical kind to the chiefs of this expedition"– would have their readers believe.

MacGregor and Aury had taken Amelia Island with only a vanguard of men. They had expected the arrival of other patriots and foreigners who had promised to join them. But "to the surprise, to the heart-rending regret, of all the friends of this great Revolution, the volunteers were stopped in their egress from the United States, and many of these [were] thrown into prison." Such measures, Pazos decried, changed "the whole appearance of our views." Instead of being able to capture the Floridas, "intended finally for the United States" after "the great events of the Revolution" had been accomplished, the patriots were confined to Amelia Island. There they avoided whatever could be construed as a violation of American sovereignty or of international law. The patriots had been deprived of their territory and their property, and they were being denied compensation for their expenditures in the erection of barracks and other buildings. They were prevented from recovering debts due from the legal sale in the United States of various goods and were threatened by their own creditors. The predicament called for immediate reso1ution.[31]

Through his friends in Washington, Pazos had met Henry Clay, speaker of the House and champion of Spanish American independence, to whom he gave his manuscript on March 8. Meanwhile, representatives of the administration were lobbying against any House action.[32] Clay, nonetheless, laid the memorial before the House on March 11, and an animated discussion lasting nearly three hours ensued.

First there was a debate over whether the memorial should even be read, and this was followed by discussion on whether or not to receive the memorial. John Forsyth of Georgia led the opposition, contending that, since Pazos was "the agent of a foreign Power, and applied to Congress as an appellate power

31. Vicente Pazos Kanki, "The Memorial of Vicente Pazos," Thorton Papers, V, 807-09; *City of Washington Gazette,* March 12, 1818; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser,* March 20, 1818.
32. Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire,* 137.

over the Executive," it would be improper to receive his memorial. Elijah Hunt Mills of Massachusetts felt that a foreigner had no right to petition Congress, and George Poindexter of Mississippi described the memorial as "one of the most impudent applications . . . that was ever made to any branch of this Government."

On the other side, David Trimble of Kentucky maintained that to reject the memorial "would hold out to the South American Governments an improper rule of action." He was backed by Thomas Bolling Robertson of Louisiana who announced that, when the United States took control of Amelia Island, it was already "in possession of Aury, Gual, Pazos, and others," who had "formed a government, and elected a legislature and other officers, of whom the individual presenting this petition was one." The right to petition, he felt, belonged to foreigners as well as to citizens. The motion by Congressman Forsyth to refuse the memorial passed by a vote of 124 to 28.[33] The House asked that it be allowed to examine the papers that Pazos had sent to the White House, and on March 25 the President complied with that request.[34]

Of the editors who discussed the controversy, none was more perceptive than Jonathan Elliot of the *City of Washington Gazette.* Those who regarded Pazos's memorial as nothing but an appeal from the executive to the Congress had missed the point; had it been merely an appeal, it would have found its way to Congress before the President had been addressed. The memorial, Elliot discerned, had a two-fold object: "the one to indicate the principles and character of those who were concerned in the establishment at Amelia Island; the other to reclaim property captured by the patriots from the royal Spaniards, and which, to

33. *House Journal,* 15th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 320-21; *Annals of Congress,* 15th Cong., 1st sess., 1251-68; John Forsyth to Nicholas Biddle, March 11, 1818, Nicholas Biddle Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Charles Bagot to Lord Castlereagh, April 7, 1818, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 5/131: 86-87. Foreign Office hereinafter cited as FO. See also *New-York Advertiser,* March 17, 1818; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser,* March 14, 1818; *Niles' Weekly Register,* March 14, 21, 1818. An analysis of the geographic distribution of the votes against Forsyth's motion reveals that Pazos had a scattering of support in the middle Atlantic, the southern, and the western states: New Hampshire, 1; New York, 1; New Jersey, 3; Pennsylvania, 4; Virginia, 4; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 2; Louisiana, 1; Indiana, 1; Ohio, 1; Kentucky, 5; Tennessee, 1.

34. Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 61; *State Papers and Publick Documents,* XIX, 388.

the injury of the patriots, has found its way into the hands of the officers of the United States." The "violent" rejection of the memorial "did not comport with equity" or with the spirit of moderation that ought to distinguish the proceedings of the House. Pazos should have been heard upon that part of his memorial which related to the rights of property.[35] Another Washington friend of Pazos aired similar thoughts in a letter to William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser:* "I cannot discover in what part of the Constitution the principle is established, that a *foreign individual,* complaining of injustice and wrong, shall have no means of seeking justice, no medium of complaint; that having been first injured in his *person,* his *rights,* and his *property* — it is made a new crime to complain; and that the absurdity is held forth to him, that for the injury which he declares to be committed by the *president* of the United States, he shall be bound to complain to the president, against the president, for the wrong done by the president, and to demand the president to pass judgment on the president for the wrong, and that there is no other remedy than this!!"[36]

The Washington *Daily National Intelligencer* incorrectly referred to Pazos as "the agent of the republics of Venezuela and Buenos Ayres."[37] Pazos pointed out that he was "the deputy of the authorities acting in the name of the republics of Venezuela, New Grenada *[sic],* and Mexico."[38] The error was rectified.[39]

Duane in Philadelphia and Elliot in Washington supported both the *Exposition* and Pazos's memorial. Many people supposed the two works to be one and the same, but Duane tried to dispel this thought. One of his correspondents in Washington, on March 12, blamed President Monroe for the failure.[40]

Monroe, however, neither reconsidered nor regretted his policy. He suspected that Pazos, Clemente, and Aguirre alike had been used "as tools against the Administration" and that their

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35. *City of Washington Gazette,* March 13, 1818.
36. Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser,* March 16, 1818.
37. *Daily National Intelligencer,* March 12, 1818.
38. Pazos to Elliot, March 12, 1818, in *City of Washington Gazette,* March 12, 1818.
39. *Daily National Intelligencer,* March 13, 1818.
40. Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser,* March 18, 19, 1818. See also *Daily National Intelligencer,* February 9, 21, 26, March 2, 9, 1818.

course of action was "in concert with and dictated by Clay."[41] Torres told the President as much and wrote to Juan Germán Roscio in Venezuela about the inability of "Don Quixote" Aguirre or Pazos to negotiate effectively in Washington. Unlike Torres, they never learned the diplomatic lesson of not pressing upon Monroe and Adams anything contrary to their wishes or policy.[42] Aguirre demanded American recognition of the government in Buenos Aires at almost the same time that Pazos was demanding either the return of Amelia Island and patriot property or proper indemnification. Both men were being used by Clay in his "open and systematic opposition to the measures of the Administration."[43] Early in March, Clay declared his intention of broaching the issue of recognition. He first tried to provide for recognition of status that would give the patriots the benefits of an acknowledged independence in American courts. When the House tabled this, he introduced an amendment to an appropriation bill to provide $18,000 for expenses and salary of a minister to the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. This strategy also failed by a vote of 115 to 45.[44]

Isaac Munroe of the *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser* who strongly supported the Spanish American patriots, showed no remorse that the Buenos Aires government had not been recognized. The proof of the exercise of arbitrary power by Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, Pazos convinced him, equaled "anything to be met with in the annals of Robespierrean despotism." Munroe emphasized the necessity of a free press in Buenos Aires.[45] His feelings reflected those of Pazos, who had been exiled by Pueyrredón because of his outspoken criticisms.

The agent had one more card to play before quitting Washington. During the debate on his memorial, Henry St. George Tucker of Virginia had suggested that Pazos withdraw the paper

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41. Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 472.
42. Torres to Roscio, April 12, 1819, in Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Origen de la doctrina panamericana de la confederación," *Revista de historia de América,* XXII (December 1946), 385-86, 394. See also Charles N. Bowman, Jr., "Manuel Torres in Philadelphia and the Recognition of Colombian Independence, 1821-1822," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* LXXX (March 1969), 17-38.
43. Bagot to Castlereagh, April 7, 1818, FO 5/131: 87.
44. Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire,* 135-36.
45. *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser,* March 28, 1818.

and resubmit it "in a more simple and unobjectionable form."[46] On March 31 Pazos drafted a petition to the House and Senate, on behalf of himself and the other individuals that he represented, asking for compensation for the private property taken by American troops on Amelia Island. Pazos avoided mention of the political questions connected with the occupation and stressed instead the idea that the expedition that originally took Amelia Island was authorized by "the Independent Governments of South America." It had been privately financed by the men engaged in it, although the political sovereignty of the island was reserved to these "Independent Governments." By capture of the island, Spanish property became the property of the captors. Justice, as well as the terms of Aury's capitulation, established a claim on the American government for all private losses suffered as a result of the occupation.[47]

On the morning of April 2, Clay presented Pazos's petition to the House, where it was referred to the Committee on Claims, but the committee failed to report before Congress adjourned April 20. It was understood that Pazos would try to have a hearing at the next session, but he did not. He left Washington on May 2 for Philadelphia. Likely he had decided that indemnification was a lost cause. Pazos reported on May 20 that he was leaving the next week for New York City.[48] His name appeared occasionally in the news during the summer of 1818.[49]

Pazos lived in New York City for more than a year before beginning an odyssey that took him to Brazil, Portugal, England, France, Belgium, and, finally, back to Buenos Aires. The Amelia Island fiasco had apparently not embittered him at all. Like Pedro Gual, an associate in the enterprise, Pazos announced that he had left the United States with regret.[50]

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46. *City of Washington Gazette,* March 14, 1818.
47. Petition of Vicente Pazos, April 2, 1818, Committee on Claims, H.R. 15A-G1.1, pp. 229-32, National Archives.
48. *House Journal,* 15th Cong., 1st sess., p. 411; *Annals of Congress,* 15th Cong., 1st sess., 1666; *City of Washington Gazette,* April 3, May 5, 1818; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser,* April 10, 1818; Pazos to Thornton, May 20, 1818, Thornton Papers, V, 820.
49. Philadelphia *Democratic Press,* July 29, 1818; *City of Washington Gazette,* August 6, 1818.
50. *City of Washington Gazette,* April 16, 1818.

REMINISCENCES OF A *LECTOR:* CUBAN CIGAR WORKERS IN TAMPA

by LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR.*

IN THE LATTER HALF of the nineteenth century, increased tobacco imports revived the historico-economic nexus between Cuba and Florida. In Key West, Tampa, Ocala, and Jacksonville cigar factories opened to process Havana tobacco. Thousands of Cubans arrived in Florida to work and most of them established themselves permanently.

The labor milieu from which cigar workers emerged defined the essential quality of the Cuban community in Florida. A highly developed proletarian consciousness and a long tradition of trade union militancy accompanied the Cuban tobacco workers to the United States.[1] In Florida that tradition flourished. In the 1890s, cigar makers provided the crucial margin of support for Cuba's independence struggle.[2] During the early decades of the twentieth century, Tampa workers embraced a variety of radical ideologies, including communism, anarchism and syndicalism. The Cuban proletarian community existed precariously in an adversary relationship with its host society. Strikes, walkouts, lock-outs, and, inevitably, violence characterized labor-management relations in the Tampa cigar industry.[3]

The reader or *lector* in the cigar factories often served as a disseminator of the proletarian tradition. The idea of reading *(lectura)* to illiterates or to workers busily engaged in their activities had existed in the early nineteenth century primarily

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1. For the Cuban antecedents see Gaspar M. Jorge García Galló, *El tabaquero cubano* (Havana, 1936).
2. John C. Appel, "The Unionization of Florida Cigar-makers and the Coming of the War With Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XXXVI (February 1956), 38-49.
3. Evelio TeIlería Toca, "Los Tabaqueros Cubanos y sus Luchas en Cayo Hueso y Tampa," *Bohemia,* April 28, 1967, 18-23, 113; Martín Duarte Hurtado, "La lucha de tabaqueros en Tampa y Cayo Hueso," *Granma,* January 2, 1967, 2.

among prisoners in Cuban jails. By mid-century, the *lectura* had begun to appear in the Cuban cigar factories.[4] Under the auspices of the cigar workers, the *lectura* expanded its scope to include the reading of the proletarian press, translation of foreign novels, and, in general, the promotion of labor causes. Almost immediately, management became suspicious and hostile, and controversy surrounded the institution.[5]

The *lectura* arrived in Florida without any significant modification in function. Readers continued to disseminate news from a variety of labor presses, they translated the local English-language daily and entertained the workers with weekly installments of current novels.[6] By the 1890s, however, the *lector* began to emerge as a powerful voice of Cuban independence sentiment. In addition to their other responsibilities, the *lectores* assumed the task of spreading separatist propaganda, appealing for funds, and calling for volunteers to take up arms in the cause of Cuban independence. Since the *lectores* were the major readers and interpreters of news they were in a position. to influence and mold the attitudes and thinking of the workers in the factories. Even after the war and with Cuban independence a fact, the *lectores* continued in their influential role. By the early 1900s, labor militancy began to find expression in the *lectores'* reading materials. As the radical press and social protest novels increased in popularity among the workers, management in Tampa singled out the *lectura* as the major source of labor agitation. Between the early 1900s and the 1920s, the fate of the *lectura* remained contingent on the outcome of periodic confrontations between labor and management.[7] Finally, in November 1931, after several weeks of strife, the cigar manufacturers, supported by city and county authorities and vigilante groups, announced the decision to abolish the *lectura:* "Heretofore the manufacturers have, through agreement with the workers, permitted the reading

4. José Rivero Muñiz, "La lectura en las tabaquerías," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional,* II (October-December 1951), 102-22. See also "La lectura en las tabaquerías," *Hoy,* May 1, 1943, 78.
5. Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez *et al., Historia de la nación cubana,* 10 vols. (Havana, 1952), VII, 249-52.
6. José Rivero Muñiz, "Los cubanos en Tampa," *Revista Bimestre Cubana,* LXXIV (Primer Semestre 1958), 40-42.
7. Ramón Tapia, "Diary of a Tampa Man in a Cigar Factory," unpublished manuscript, photocopy, Florida Collection, University of South Florida Library, Tampa.

of matters of general news value, educational or instructive, but the abuse of this privilege through the reading of anarchistic propaganda has caused the manufacturers to immediately withdraw the privilege of reading any matter whatsoever."[8] A strike of cigar workers as a result of the manufacturers' edict received the support of virtually every business in Ybor City and West Tampa. The general strike of 1931, however, did not weaken the resolve of management. They realized the dangers of unchecked *lectores* and they stood resolute. When the factories reopened in early December 1931 the lectura had been abolished.

Abelardo Gutiérrez Días was one of the thousands of young men who had emigrated from Spain to America at the turn of the century to avoid military service in the Spanish colonial wars in Africa. After residing several years in Cuba, Sr. Gutiérrez Días arrived in Tampa to earn a living as a *lector, a* trade he had acquired in Havana. By the late 1920s, Don Abelardo's reading skills enabled him to join what was to be the last generation of Tampa *lectores.* Sr. Gutiérrez Días's reminiscences result from an oral history interview taped in Tampa on February 19, 1974. Shortly after the Spanish transcription, Abelardo Gutiérrez Días passed away at the age of eighty-one. The following has been edited and translated from the original Spanish copy.[9]

I served as a *lector* during the late 1920s and early 1930s. We continued in Tampa the system that had accompanied the cigar industry from Cuba. Most *lectores* came from the ranks of the cigar workers themselves. Periodically try-outs were scheduled to recruit new *lectores.* I went to one such trial, in 1926 I believe, at the urging of my wife. I passed and I was accepted. From that time on, I worked in several of the cigar factories as a *lector.* Almost all the *lectores* were Cuban or Spanish; I myself am Spanish. The cigar workers had an enormous potential for education, even when they could not read. The *lectura* was itself a veritable system of education dealing with a variety of subjects, including politics, labor, literature, and international relations.

We had four daily shift *(turnos).* One was used to read

8. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 27, 1931.
9. A special acknowledgment is extended to Ms. Sarah Cipollone whose assistance with transcriptions between 1973 and 1974 contributed to the progress of the University of South Florida Oral History Project.

national news stories. Another was devoted to international political developments. The third concerned itself entirely with news from the proletariat press. And, lastly, the novel.

In the morning the day's reading started with national news, usually Spanish translations of the English-language press. Responsibility for these translations rested on one man, most commonly a senior *lector* with facility in English. He would then make copies and distribute them among the *lectores.* After reading the Spanish translation of national news, we read news from Cuban dailies, such as *Diario de la Marina.*[10] Cuban newspapers arrived in Tampa regularly throughout this period.

International labor news was drawn from a variety of sources. Proletariat newspapers, however, came largely from Spain and Italy. These were partisan newspapers; some were anarchist, others were communist. All were read. There really was not much radicalism among the workers during the time I served as a *lector.* To be honest, I frankly did not like to read anarchist and communist publications. I did not fully understand these systems and cared less for the ideas expounded. The workers, however, asked that they be read. And, of course, regardless of the *lector's* personal feeling, one simply could not read what he wanted. One was paid to read materials demanded by the cigar workers, not judge them.

And then the novel. The novel was also chosen by the cigar workers. There was a vote. Four or five novels by different authors would be submitted to a vote; the novel winning the largest number of votes determined the book selected for the *lectura.* The novel was read in installments, some twenty or thirty minutes per daily session. Every day a section would be read until the novel was completed. At that time, another election would determine the next novel.

Almost all the novels chosen were by Spanish authors like Armando Palacio Valdés[11] and Pérez Galdós.[12] Zola also enjoyed enormous popularity among the workers. At the beginning, al-

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10. *Diario de la Marina* was a Havana daily, particularly popular with the Spanish expatriate community in Cuba.
11. Armando Palacio Valdés (1853-1938) was an author of no particular world view who excelled in a literature of light entertainment.
12. Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-1920) wrote some eighty books recreating life in nineteenth-century Spain and analyzing many of the social problems of the period.

most all the novels involved serious themes, usually labor-related subjects– that was at a time when the factories were made up almost entirely of men. Afterwards, during the late 1920s, women entered the factories in increasing numbers. And through the very force of the women's vote, we began to read more romantic novels and material treating the dashing adventurers.

There were at least as many *lectores* as there were factories. No, usually more, for some served as substitutes to cover for those who were taken ill or for some other reason failed to appear at his factory. I had two factories in which to read. One was very large. I could not cover all the periods and thus read only the translations. At the other one, a smaller factory, I read the news and the novel.

The *lector* during the period in which I read did not have the benefit of a loud-speaker system. It was all through the strength of one's voice *(fuerzo de grito).* In one factory, such as the Martínez Ybor factory which contained some 300 cigar workers, one had to read loud enough to be heard by everyone. It was an enormous effort. One enterprising *lector,* seeking to improve the system and thereby make his life easier, introduced into the factory a loudspeaker. But the *lector's* voice through the megaphone annoyed the majority of workers; it was too metallic, they complained. In deference to the workers' protest, the *lector* abandoned the loudspeaker.

The cigar workers paid the *lector* a quota. Invariably, it amounted to approximately twenty-five cents weekly. That's all. Our weekly wage depended on the number of cigar workers. Usually our pay ranged somewhere between $35.00 to $45.00 a week. Almost all the cigar workers paid regularly without incident. Obviously, a situation in which a 300-man factory had only twelve paying workers would have been intolerable. The president of the *lectura,* charged with distributing the *lectores* and selecting the materials for the day, was entrusted with the responsibility of keeping order and making certain everyone paid his weekly allowance. Not everyone was obliged to contribute. Everyone who understood Spanish, however, was asked to pay. It once happened than an old man in one of the factories in which I read refused to pay. I approached the president and informed him of the problem. "Look," I said, "so and so does not want to pay. What do you want to do?" The president inter-

viewed the old man and learned that it all stemmed from the Cuban war for independence. Apparently the Spanish had mistreated him during the 1890s; since that time, he had a hatred of all Spaniards. And since I was a Spaniard, he vowed he would not pay to hear a Spaniard read the news. And there it rested. Because of his advanced age nothing was ever done, in spite of pressure to dismiss him from the factory. Otherwise, all workers paid us regularly without problems.

Since one of the requirements necessary to become a *lector* involved literary skills, almost all *lectores* had received some form of formal education. But perhaps as important, one had to read with feeling *(leer con sentido).* More than anything else, one had to act out his material. Take the novel, for example. One had to interpret. The *lector* had to be something of an actor. He had to breathe life into his protagonists. The old lady– the old man: when they argued, when they yelled. All that. You know, it was not all that easy.

And quite naturally, there were favorite *lectores.* Some *lectores* were sought after more than others. There was often competition among factories to secure the service of a particularly gifted *lector.* Those who had the theatrical flair, who portrayed the protagonists with style and drama– these men were typically the most popular. There was one case of a *lector* who did not have a powerful voice, but who was a tremendous performer. He was an artist– today he would have been a film star.

And there were difficulties and bad times. Because we read and disseminated the labor press, we incurred the hostility of the factory owners. We were accused of making communist propaganda. That simply was not true. The cigar worker paid, and one had to read precisely what the cigar workers wanted. Management did not approve of this system. It was at the height of one of these controversies that they abolished the *lectura.* They removed the platform on which we sat. At this point, the workers took to the streets. The mayor personally inquired into the nature of the problem. We informed him we wanted the *lectura* restored. We were informed that management would reinstate the *lectura* only if the material read to the workers was approved beforehand by the owners. And naturally, since it was not the factory owners who paid out wages– it was the factory worker– we could not accept; similarly, the workers rejected a

system in which management selected the materials presented.[13] The *lectura* ended in 1931. After the strike, many *lectores* returned to the factories as cigar workers. And I, with a compatriot, opened up a little cafe in Ybor.

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13. Sr. Gutiérrez may have been referring to a speech given to the strikers by former Mayor Perry G. Wall: "Now, I have no doubt the question of permitting you to have men read to you in the factories may be adjusted. I think it is a splendid thing to have someone to read to you while you work, but I do think the literature should be passed on by a competent authority. The shows we see in theaters have to be approved. The books we read must be approved. It is part of the duty of the government to teach, in schools and after the people have left the schools." See the *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 30, 1931.

SOME EARLY RAILROADS IN ALACHUA COUNTY

by CAROLINE WATKINS *

EARLIEST TRANSPORTATION in Florida was usually by water routes– north and south– since few rivers offered east-west communication. The inland, unsettled country was covered by pine and oak forests and a thick growth of palmettos, vines, and scrub. Canals to connect the Atlantic and the Gulf had been proposed as early as the first Spanish period, and routes were surveyed in the 1820s. When it became evident that tidewater canals would be difficult to construct and locks expensive, attention was diverted to roads and railroads.

The first railroad in Florida ran from Tallahassee to St. Marks, a distance of about twenty miles.[1] The cars were mule drawn, the rails iron, and the passenger cars were box-shaped with rows of benches on either side, seating eight people each. Besides passenger service the Call Railroad, as it was known because of Governor Richard Keith Call's association with it, gave an outlet to the Gulf for cotton, sugar, and other produce from South Georgia and middle Florida. The road also carried mail. The road was later extended to Port Leon, and a locomotive eventually replaced the mules.

The first rail transportation to reach Alachua County was the Florida Railroad which ran from Fernandina to Cedar Key.[2] Incorporated in 1853 with capital stock of $1,000,000, the company received large land grants to be used for buildings, shops, tracks, depots, and to be sold to secure additional capital.[3] David Levy Yulee, United States Senator from Florida and first president of the Florida Railroad, was instrumental in passing legislation for a charter and in obtaining funds and land grants to build the railroad.[4] Telegraph services were set up along the route and ar-

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* Ms. Watkins is a resident of Micanopy, Florida, and is writing a history of that community.

1. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 188.
2. F. W. Buchholz, *A History of Alachua County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical* (St. Augustine, 1929), 52.
3. George W. Pettengill, Jr., *The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, 1952), 11, 21, 22.
4. Tebeau, *History of Florida,* 191.

rangements were made to send mail by boat from Cedar Key to Havana, Cuba. In a letter to the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* in 1886, Yulee described the facility as "a broad gauge road (five feet) laid with heavy rail of superior manufacture, mostly of sixty pounds to the lineal yard."[6]

The route as it was advertised in the 1850s covered 156 miles. In 1859 the tracks were laid to Gainesville, and by 1861 they had reached the Gulf.[6] Cedar Key, the terminus of the road, was attacked by Federal ships in 1862, and most of the town, including the railroad station and some rolling stock, was destroyed. Passenger and freight service along the entire route deteriorated during the Civil War. The company did not recoup after the war, and by 1872 it was in serious physical and financial condition.[7] A reorganization was ordered, and with new capital two locomotives were purchased and extensive improvements were begun.[8] The name of the road was changed to the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company.[9] Four years later a connecting line was extended from Waldo to Ocala. According to its schedule, the train departed "Fernandina daily for Gainesville and three times a week for Cedar Key, making close connections at Baldwin with trains to and from Lake City and Tallahassee; also, from Jacksonville: and with Stage for Micanopy, Newnansville, Ocala, Tampa, and other parts of the interior."[10]

In 1881 the company was reincorporated as the Florida Transit Railroad, and for many years it was called "The Transit."[11] Spurs were built south from Gainesville to landings on the north side of Paynes Prairie. In 1884 there was still another reorganization, and the road then became the Florida Railway and Navigation Company. In 1888 the name was changed to Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad, and it

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5. "Letter from Mr. Yulee, An Interesting Chapter in Railroad History in Florida," in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 23, 1886, Box 48, Miscellaneous Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter cited as MC:PKY.
6. Pettengill, *Story*, 22.
7. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 208; Pettengill, *Story*, 33.
8. Pettergill, *Story*, 33.
9. *Ibid*.
10. Micanopy *Cotton States*, June 4, 1861.
11. Pettengill, *Story*, 36.

continued under this designation until it was acquired in 1902 by the Seaboard Airline Company.[12] The main line ran from Fernandina through Callahan, Baldwin, Waldo, Fairbanks, Gainesville, Arredondo, Palmer, and Archer to Cedar Key. A southern branch was built from Waldo via Hawthorne and Lochloosa to Silver Springs.[13] In the years before there was a railroad into Micanopy, citrus and other produce were hauled to Paynes Prairie, then a lake, to be loaded onto boats and barges which conveyed them to "The Transit" on the north side of the lake.[14]

The Florida Land and Immigration Company advertised the sale of the lands that had been given to the Florida Railroad Company. Samuel A. Swann of Fernandina, Assistant Commissioner of Immigration, and J. S. Adams of Jacksonville, Commissioner of Immigration, were active in disposing of these properties. The company's advertisements strongly advised: "Go South, Young Man! Go to Florida!" J. B. Oliver of New York, who represented the company in the North, offered forty acres for $50.00, in addition to "Free Tickets to each purchaser for self, family, and freights on all effects."[15] For ten cents, prospective customers could secure a "specimen copy *Florida New-Yorker,* containing Florida views, splendid map, and complete history of the State."[16] These lands, some 650,000 acres, were along the railroads route from Fernandina to Cedar Key. Some of the settlers who moved into Alachua County were attracted by these offers.

The Florida Southern was the first railroad to reach Micanopy. Originally incorporated as the Gainesville, Ocala, and Charlotte Harbor Railroad, construction was begun in January 1881, at Palatka. N. R. Gruelle was the chief engineer, and General John Varnum had the contract for grading. Approximately three-quarters of a mile of road was completed daily, although there was a problem in getting iron rails delivered. Completion

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12. Ralph G. Hill and James H. Pledger, comps., *The Railroads of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1939), A-9, A-7.
13. Pettengill, *Story,* opposite 48.
14. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County,* 169.
15. Advertising card in Samuel A. Swann folder, "Land for sale by Fla. Land & Immigration Co.," Box 13, MC:PKY.
16. *Ibid.*

date for the part of the road into Gainesville was optimistically set for May 1, but it did not meet that deadline.[17]

The following year the road, reorganized as the Florida Southern, completed construction. From 1881-1884 a system of three-foot gauge railroads was built. The line branched at Gruelle (now Rochelle) in three directions: east to Palatka to connect with steamers on the St. Johns; northwest to Gainesville; and south to Micanopy, Evinston, McIntosh, Orange Lake, Reddick, Ocala, Leesburg, and finally to its terminus at Charlotte Harbor. Rights-of-way and other lands, including town lots, were deeded to the company for stations and warehouses by private persons who realized that their own property would increase in value with the presence of the railroad. One such contract was with Archilaus Hague and Martha Hague, July 23, 1883. For the consideration of one dollar and the "great enhancement in value that will result to the adjacent, or neighboring property, from the location and construction . . . of its Railway near . . . their real estate," they conveyed to Florida Southern acreage "to be surveyed into Town Lots." It was stipulated that a station and "suitable buildings for Warehouses" would be constructed and the land would be "maped, plated, *[sic]* and surveyed at their expense."[18] Schedules began to appear in area papers, including the Gainesville *Weekly Bee* and *Daily Sun.*[19] During October 1883, a 3.36 mile branch was built from Micanopy to what became Micanopy Junction on the main line, six miles south of Gruelle, and the *Micanopy Gazette* noted that, "The first train bringing freight to Micanopy arrived this morning at eleven o'clock, under the charge of roadmaster, C. T. Purcell, and engineer, G. A. Boberts . . . . The train took out five cars of cotton.[20]

A promotional folder in 1884 advertised the Orange Belt route: "Travel with comfort, speed and elegance . . . with parlor cars and air brakes." The January 1884 time table noted that the fast mail connected "at Leesburg with steamers on Lakes for Yalaha, Tavares and Fort Mason, and with the St. Johns and

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17. Pettengill, *Story,* 68, 69, 72.
18. "A. Hague & Martha Hague to Fla. So. Ry. Co, Land Contract," July 23, 1883, "Southern Railway Co." folder, Box 32, MC:PKY.
19. Gainesville *Daily Sun,* December 19, 1899, copy in possession of Mrs. Gordon B. Tison, Gainesville.
20. Pettengill, *Story,* 72.

Lake Eustis Railroad for the St. Johns River Steamers." Stage lines ran to Brooksville, Fort Dade, Bartow, Wildwood, and Tampa.[21] In 1892 the Florida Southern Railway was sold under foreclosure and was reincorporated as the Florida Southern Railroad Company.[22] In 1895 it became part of the Plant System which in 1902 was reorganized as the Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company.[23]

In Gainesville, the Florida Southern's tracks ran along Main Street. A local ordinance granted this right-of-way in February 1881, and limited speed to four miles per hour within limits of the town and required notice, either by ringing of bells, or in some other manner, at least one minute before crossing.[24] For many years no dining cars were carried, and the train stopped at the Gainesville station (Northwest Second Avenue and Main Street) for one hour so that passengers could enjoy luncheon at the White House Hotel. Afterwards the train backed up to the hotel to pick up the passengers.[25]

At Micanopy there was a station and freight depot and Western Union faciilties. Main line trains moved into the station on a spur until a "short train" was placed on the run. Another spur, for freight only, was laid from the Micanopy station to the west side of town for the convenience of the Micanopy Packing Company. A side track here permitted the transfer and reloading of freight and produce between the T. and J. Railroad and the Florida Southern. A longer spur ran from the station northward toward Lake Wauburg where tracks curved around the east and north sides of the lake. There was a station near Bartram's Spring which was first called Phillips and later, Ascot. North of Lake Wauburg the railroad turned southwestward and crossed present U.S. 441 to Tacoma where

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21. Reproductions of time tables, 1884, between pp. 68-69, in Pettengill, *Story*.
22. Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-9. See also "Map of Lands purchased by Jno. M. Hallowes, Esq.," in "Southern Railway Co." folder, Box 32, MC:PKY.
23. Pettengill, *Story*, 13, 96; Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-9.
24. "Copy of Ordinance of Town Council of Gainesville Fla To Florida Southern Railway Company (Granting right of way through West Main Street 19th February 1881)," in "Southern Railway Co." folder, Box 32, MC:PKY.
25. Personal memory of the author.

there were facilities for turning the train.[26] This was a fertile agricultural area and railroad business flourished.

Records show that a railroad was incorporated in 1874 under the name Gainesville and Micanopy Railroad Company. Its proposed route was Gainesville to Micanopy, and the road was to be utilized mainly to ship oranges. It was never constructed, but whether this was because of a lack of adequate capital or for some other reason is not known. In 1881 a charter was issued to the Micanopy and Brooksville Railroad Company, and four years later one to the Melrose and Micanopy Railroad Company. Neither of these was ever built. In 1884 the Gainesville, Rocky Point, and Micanopy Railway, with a capital stock of $300,000, secured a charter which was signed by J. W. Carter, president, and J. B. Martin, secretary.[27] Among the certificates was one issued to W. A. Callison, dated August 11, 1891: "Received of N. A. Callison, three hundred twenty-six dollars and thirty-two cents, to be paid in freight by the Gainesville, Rocky Point, and Micanopy Railroad Company over and upon the line of said railroad at any time after the said railroad shall have been built and equipped from Gainesville, Florida, to Micanopy, Florida. This certificate is redeemable for freight, at any station on the line of said railroad on presentation by the owner and holder hereof with interest at ten percent per annum."[28] Construction of the line proceeded slowly, and in 1894 the charter was sold to L. L. Hill who changed the name to the Gainesville and Gulf Railway Company. In 1894, V. J. Herlong gave quit claim deeds to the company for right-of-way and lots, with the provision that the railroad be built within two years.[29]

James M. Graham signed a quit-claim deed stating that "should the said railroad fail to build over this land within seven months from this date in the time and manner specified (time being the essence of this contract) the above payment of one dollar . . . shall be forfeited . . . and the contract shall be

26. Map of Alachua County, original drawn by Byron Crow, Gainesville, traced by N. B. Flagg, Department of Chemistry and Soils, Experiment Station, University of Florida. Now in possession of the author.
27. Alachua County Court of Records, Deed Book 41, p. 280, Alachua County Courthouse, Gainesville, Florida. Hereinafter cited as ACC.
28. Alachua County Court of Records, Miscellaneous Records, Book 1, 619-21, ACC.
29. Alachua County Court of Records, Deed Book 41, 330-64, ACC.

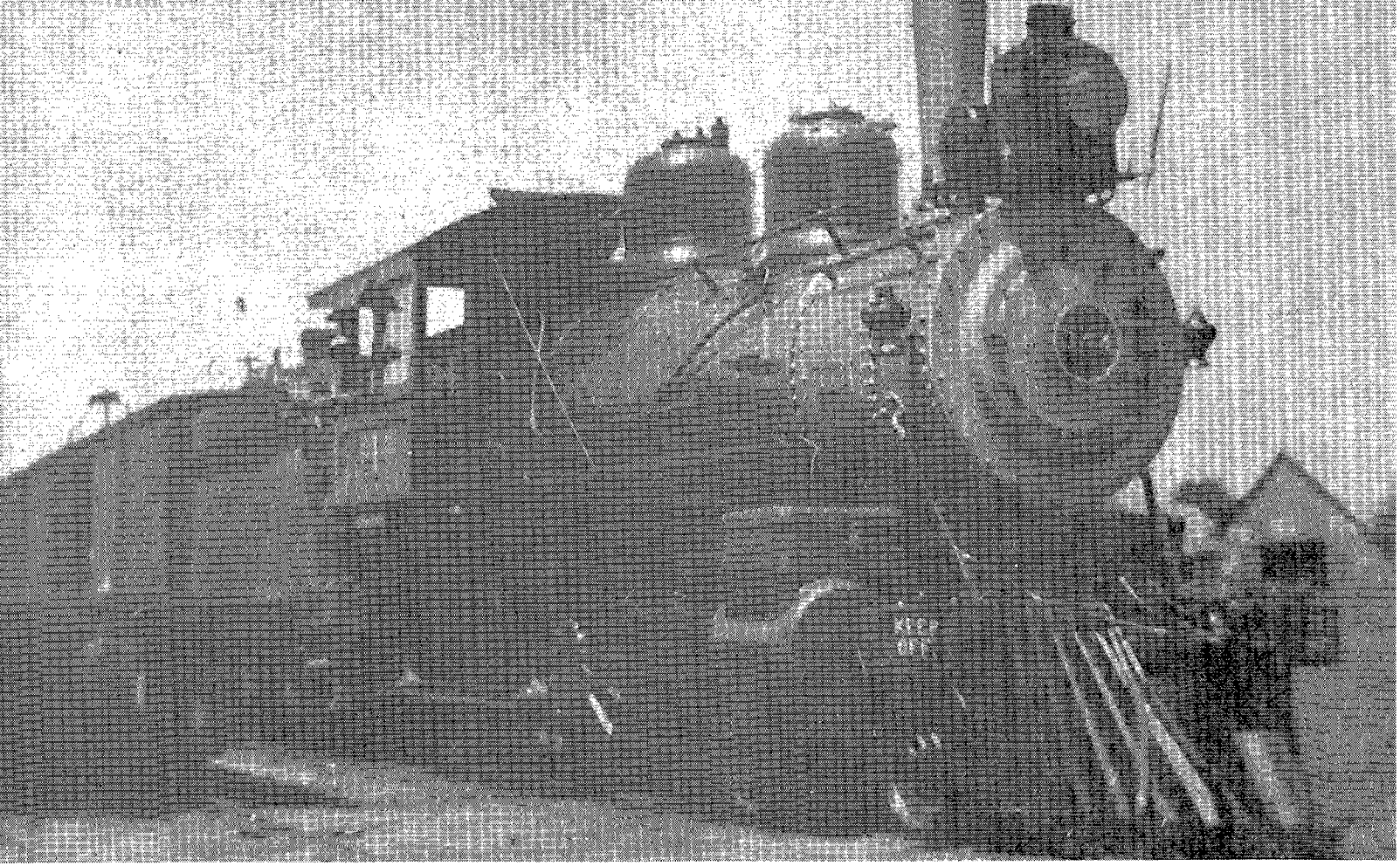
null and void . . . May 23, A.D. 1898." Twenty-one such right-of-way contracts were recorded.[30] Variations of the time clause occurred, but all demanded prompt fulfillment.

In 1895, twelve miles of standard gauge tracks were laid to Micanopy, under Herlong's management. He was now president of the company and part owner of the road. Tracks were extended in the next four years to Irvine and Fairfield in Marion County on the south and to Sampson City on the north. The plan was to continue the road into Baldwin and Jacksonville, but this connection never materialized. There was transportation at one time, however, over a logging road owned by a private company. At Sampson City, the Gainesville and Gulf Line met the Georgia Southern and Florida and the Atlantic, Suwannee River, and Gulf.[31] Its major activity was to carry lumber for the Herlong Lumber Company and later, oranges and produce from the rich citrus groves and truck farms in the area. The maximum operated mileage of the company was forty-eight miles.[32]

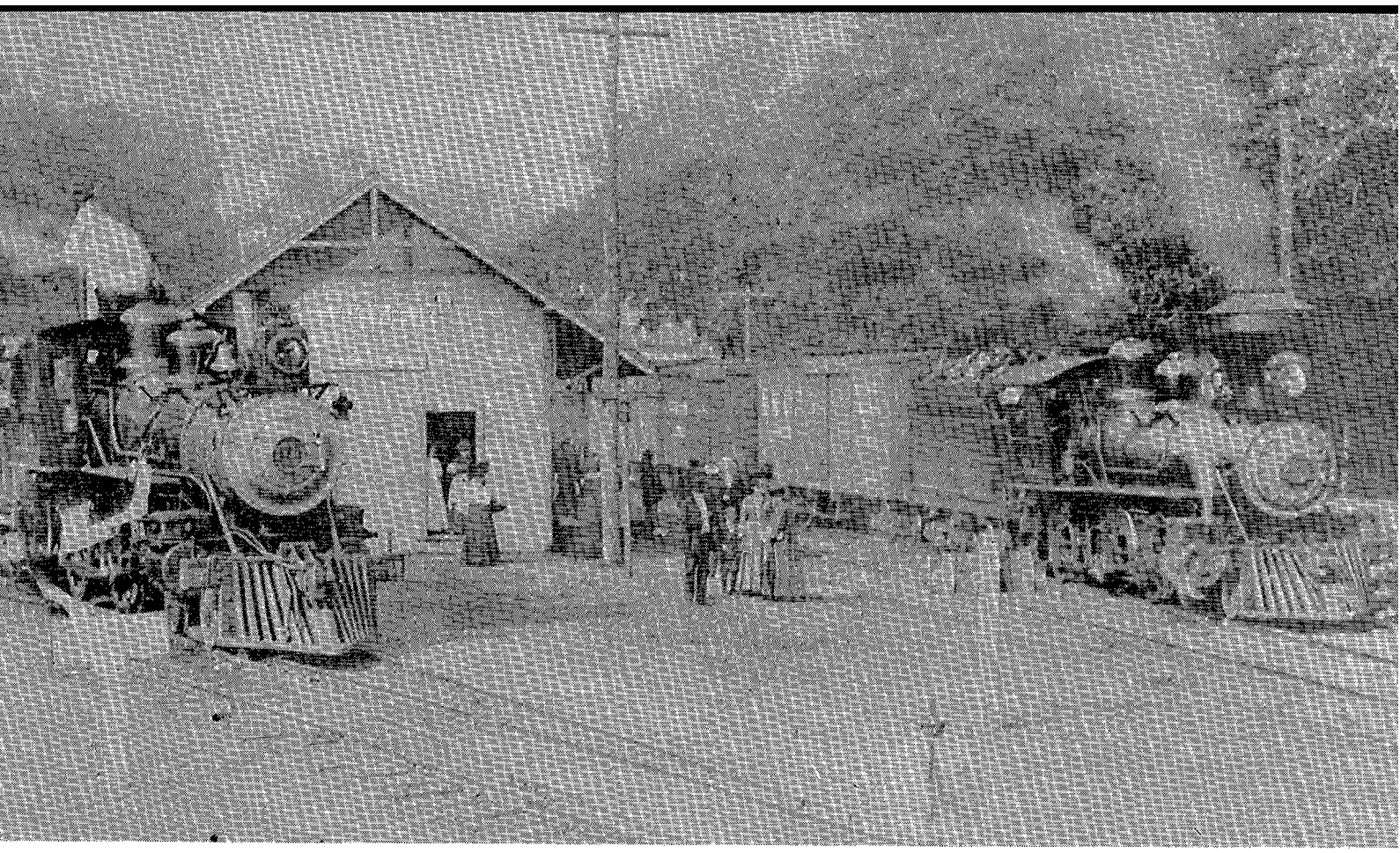
In 1897, the Gainesville and Gulf Railroad gave the Electric Power Company of Gainesville a thirty-year lease for land for a power plant. V. J. Herlong, as president, and J. F. Bunch, secretary, signed the lease and agreed to a one dollar a year compensation. The Gainesville and Gulf leased for forty-two months an eight-wheel American type, No. 103, locomotive in 1900 from the Georgia Southern and Florida Railroad. This contract was signed by Herlong and W. M. Shaw, vice-president of the Georgia Southern.[34] Gainesville and Gulf's rolling stock at that time consisted of three locomotives, two passenger, one baggage, and fourteen freight cars.[35]

Around 1903 tram roads with wooden rails were laid to haul lumber to the railroads. L. J. and L. Montgomery gave a license for such a tram road to Alison and Melton, a Micanopy lumber

30. *Ibid.*, 338-64.
31. Alachua County Court of Records, Miscellaneous Records, Book 1, 480-83, ACC. See also Pettergill, *Story*, 125.
32. Interview with V. J. Herlong II, Micanopy, April 1971; Pettengill, *Story*, 125.
33. Alachua County Court of Records, Miscellaneous Records, Book I, 39-41, ACC.
34. Lease contract with Georgia Southern and Florida Railroad Company, February 1, 1900, *ibid.*, 362.
35. Pettengill, *Story*, 125.

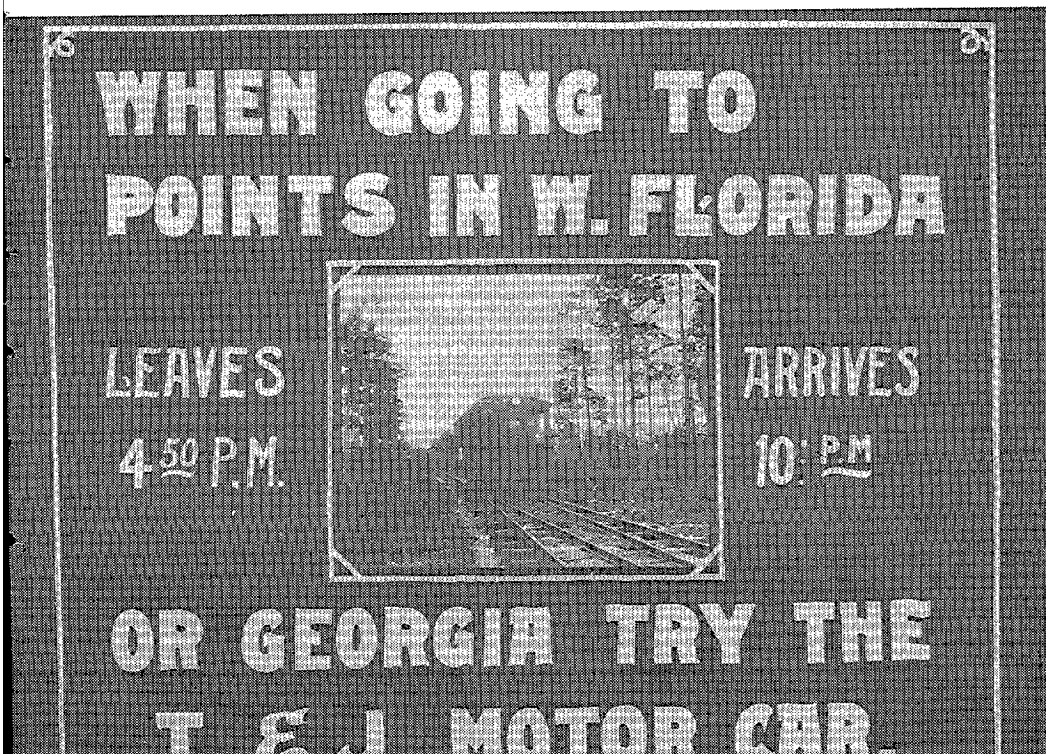


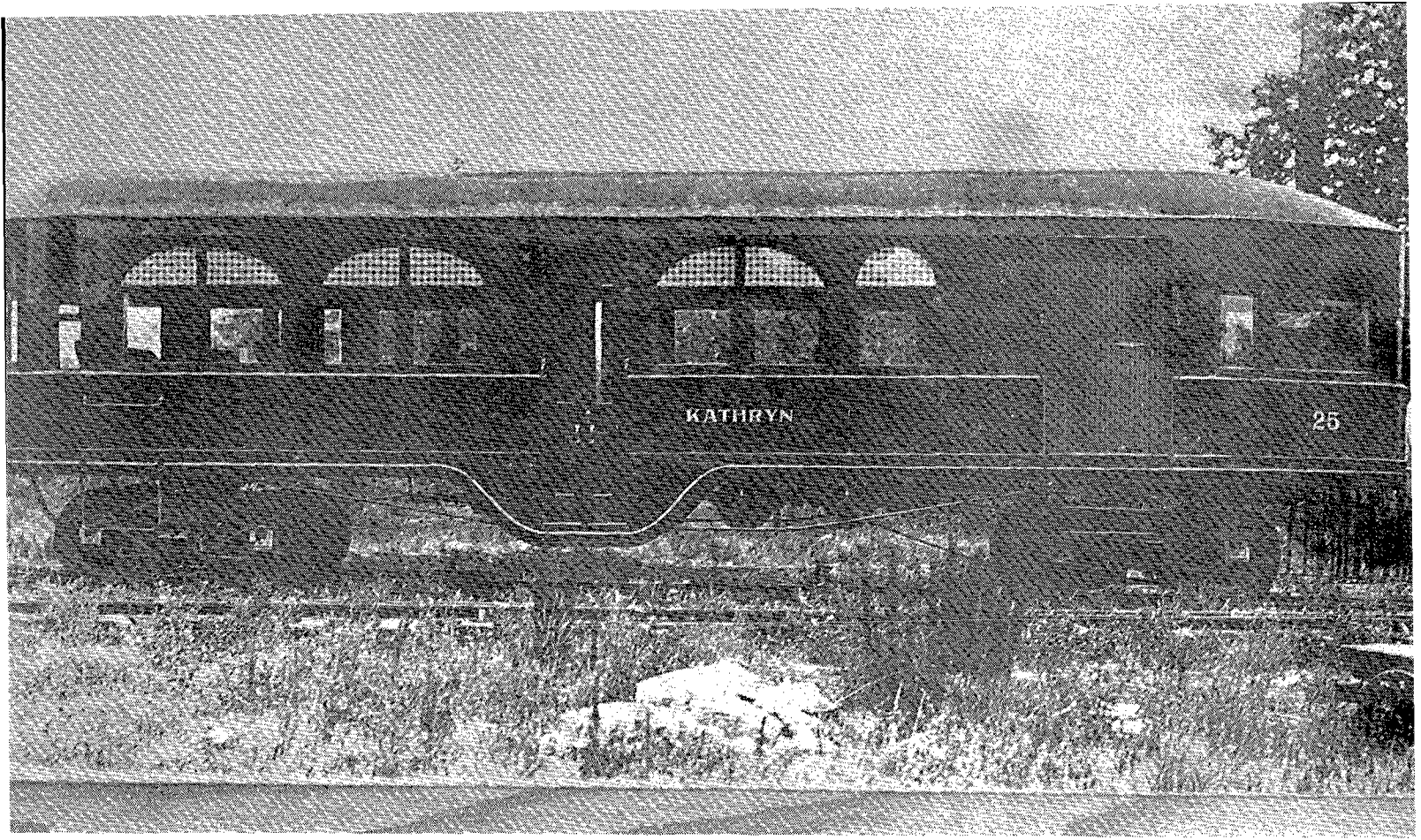
A steam locomotive and freight cars at Kirkwood (between Gainesville and Micanopy) on the T. and J. line in 1901. (Photo courtesy Jon Nelson)



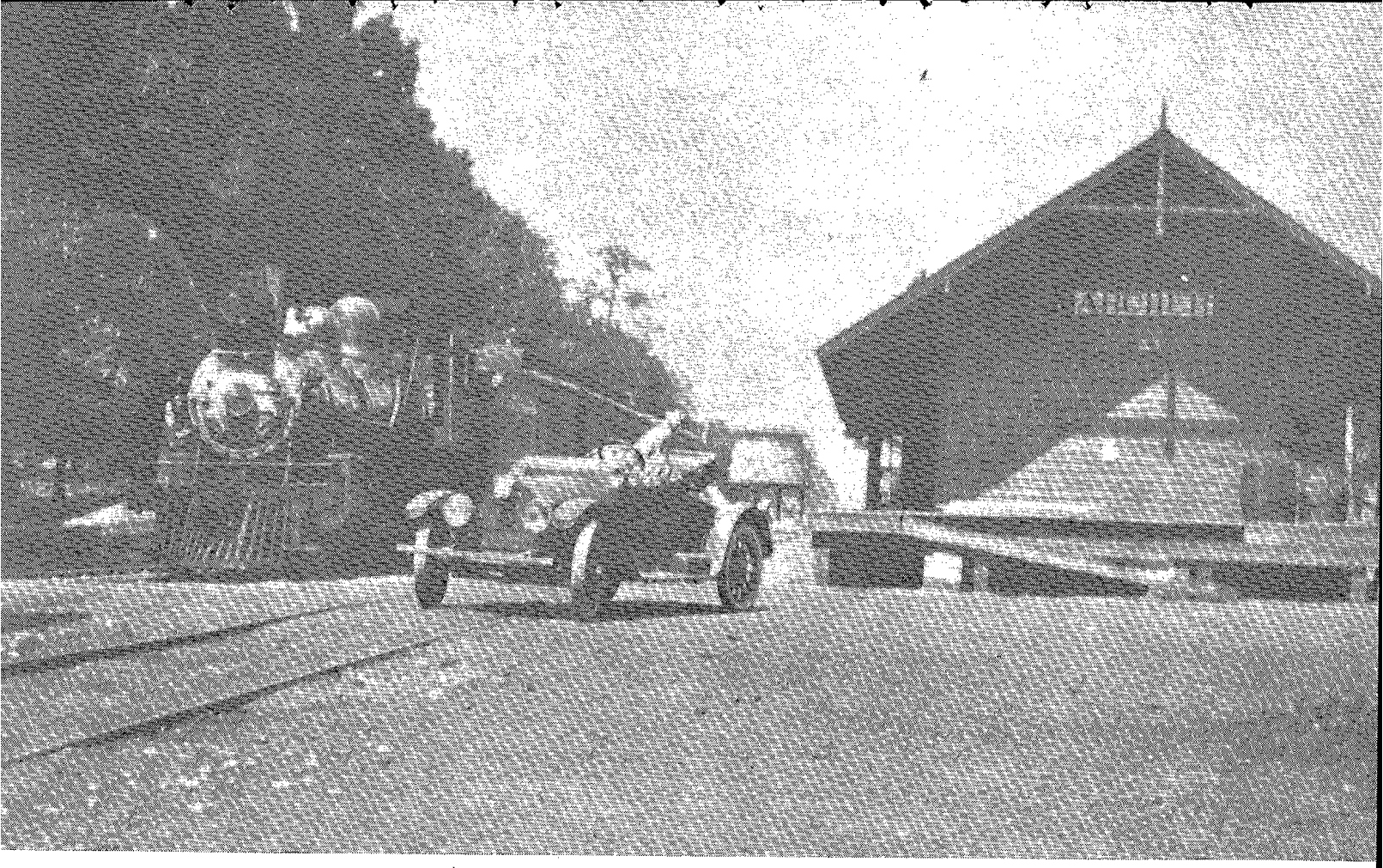
Seaboard Railroad junction at Archer, about 1910. Woodburner at right is on original Florida Railroad right-of-way. It has arrived from Cedar Key and is headed east to Gainesville. Coal burner on left brings a passenger train from the south on the "Eagle Mine Branch." (Photo courtesy H. B. Skinner and Charles Perrin Ross)

ACL train on Main Street, Gainesville, about 1930. (Photo courtesy Joyce Knox)

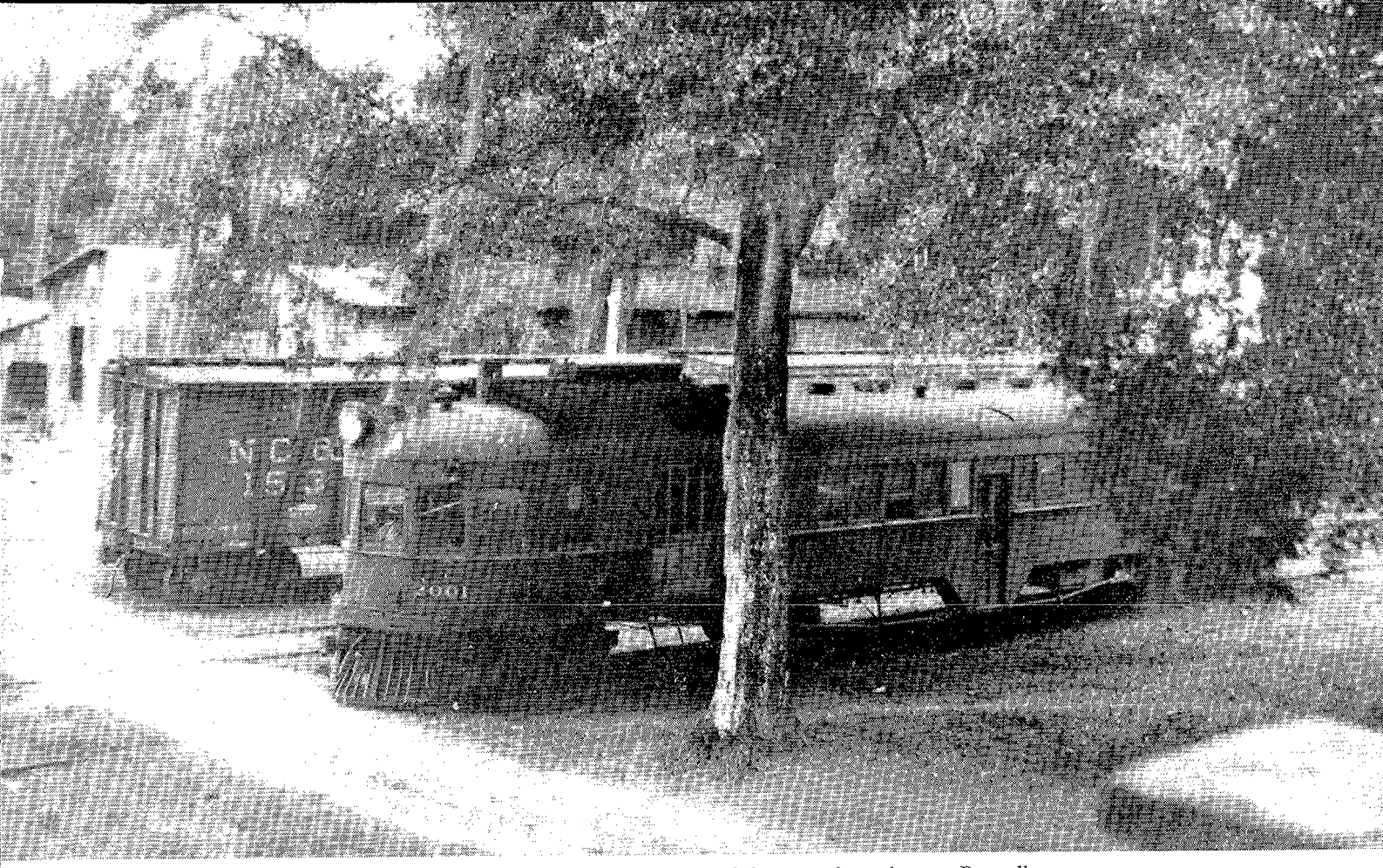




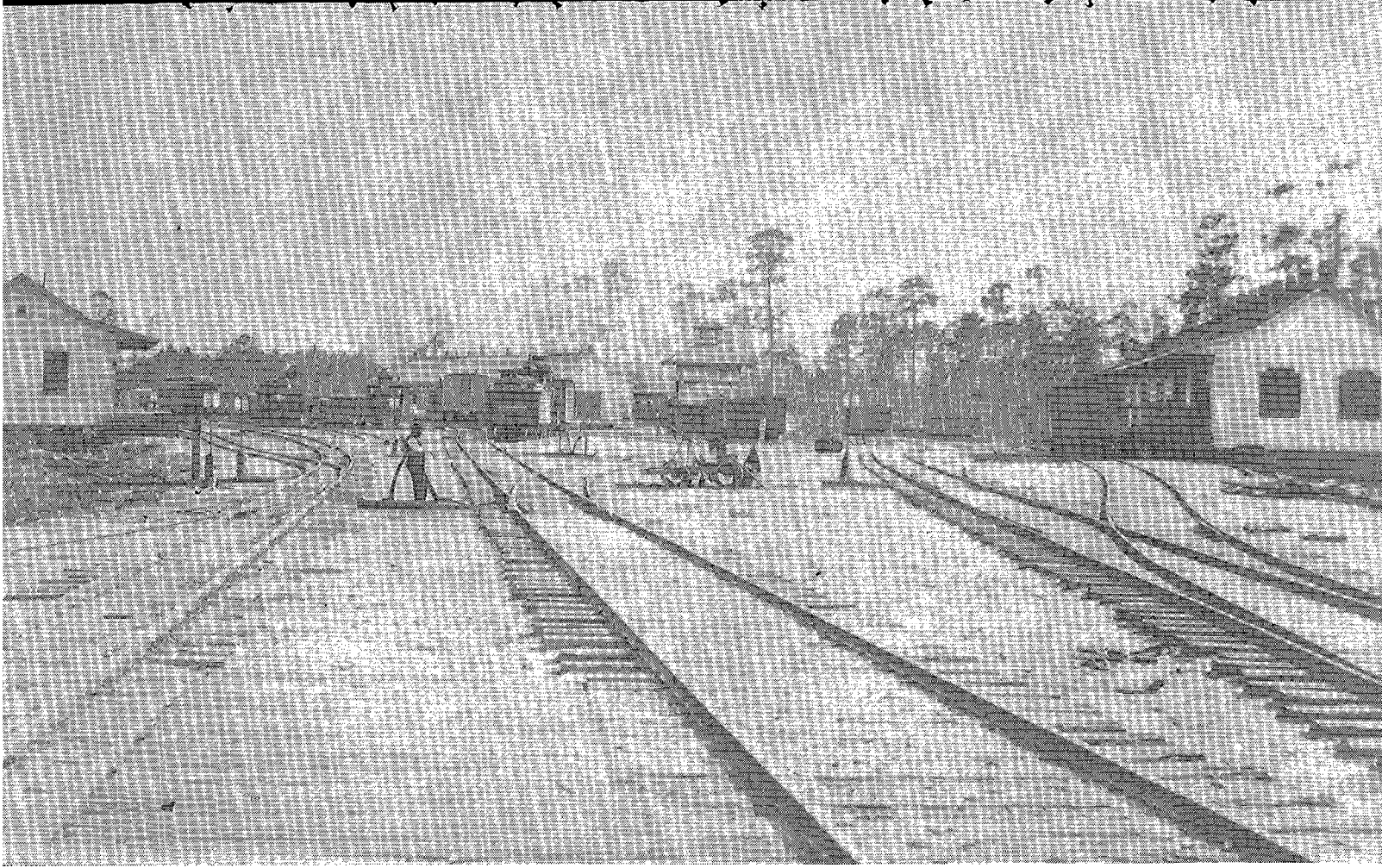
The Kathryn was built by J. A. Whiting around 1916 to run on the T. and J. between Gainesville and Sampson City. It could carry forty-two passengers.



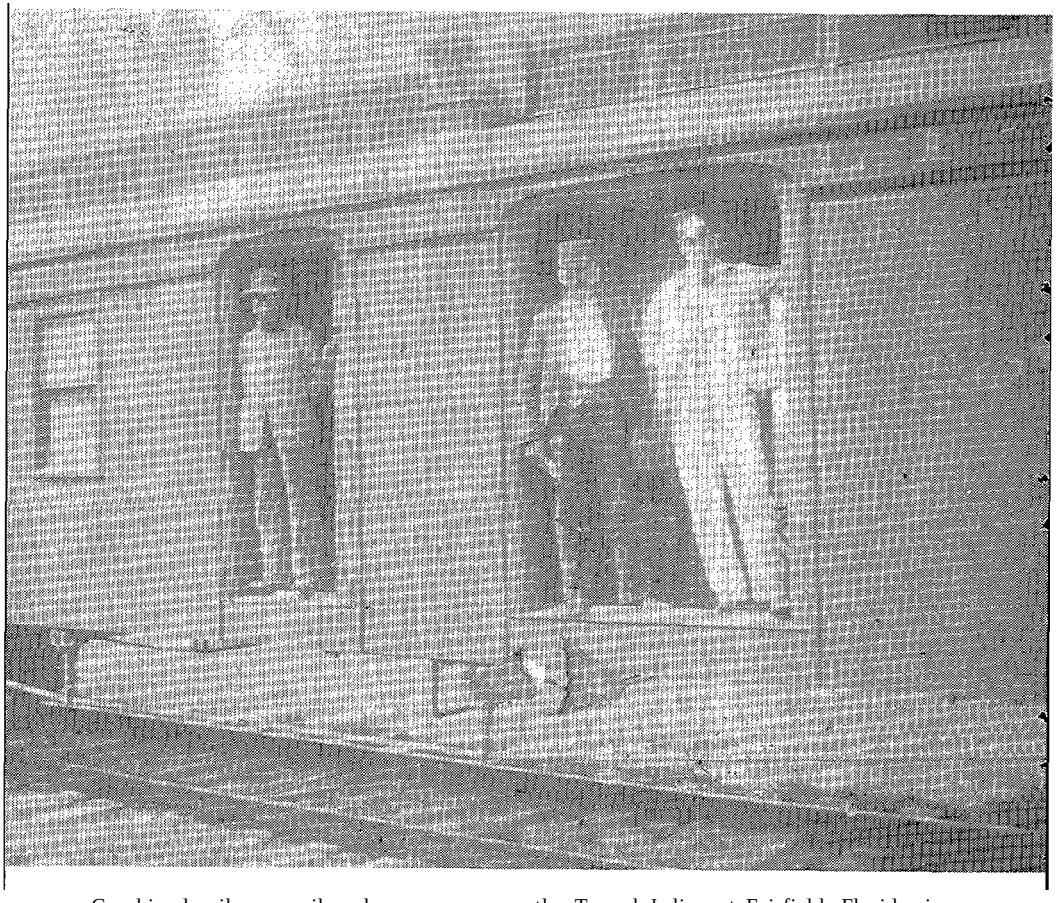
Passenger train for Cedar Key in Seaboard Railroad Station at Archer, about 1918.
(Photo courtesy H. B. Skinner and Charles Perrin Ross)



Diesel-electric car in Archer, Florida, about 1919. It ran from there to Dunnellon on the old "Eagle Mine Branch." (Photo courtesy H. B. Skinner and Charles Perrin Ross)



Early 1890s, probably the yards south of Gainesville where the narrow gauge Florida



Combined railway mail and express car on the T. and J. line at Fairfield, Florida, in 1906. Car still carries the earlier road name "Gainesville and Gulf." (Photo courtesy Jon Nelson)

company, to "construct, maintain, and operate a wooden rail tram way not to exceed twelve feet in width upon the route originally selected in Section 27-11-20, for a period of five years."[36] Timber contracts preceded the building of these roads. For instance, J. D. Merry, Cornelius Merry, J. S. and J. V. McCredie, separately, sold to Crane and Macmahon, of New York City, May 1, 1901, "hickory, white oak, cherry, ash, dogwood, and persimmon, and other timber suitable for the business of said parties."[37]

In 1906, F. J. Lisman Company purchased the road and changed its name to the Tampa and Jacksonville Railway Company which was incorporated with a capital stock of $1,000,000. The proposed route was Tampa to Jacksonville, a distance of 210 miles. It would run through Pasco, Fernando, Citrus, and Marion counties to a point at or near the village of Fairfield, thence extending north-eastwardly over the line of the Gainesville and Gulf Railway Company through Sampson City to a location at or near the city of Jacksonville. Directors of the new company included S. F. Parrott of Macon, Georgia, as president, and F. M. Simonton, secretary.[38]

By the 1890s there were several ways of reaching Alachua County from the north by rail. One could travel from Jacksonville via the St. Johns River to Palatka, and then take the Florida Southern to Rochelle and Gainesville, or a change could be made at Rochelle to the southern branch of the Florida Southern which ran to Micanopy Junction. There passengers were met by carriages and later by automobiles. Earlier one could travel from New York to Jacksonville by Clyde Line vessels, and then proceed up the St. Johns in river steamers to Silver Springs, and finally by stage coach or private conveyance to Micanopy and Gainesville.[39] Another route was by Clyde Line from New York to Charleston or Savannah and then by boat or train to Jacksonville and Baldwin. At Sampson City passeng-

36. Alachua County Court of Records, Miscellaneous Records, Book 1, 769, ACC.
37. *Ibid.*, 586.
38. Alachua County Court of Records, Incorporation Book 1, agreement of consolidation, 205; certificates of disbursements, 209, ACC.
39. Letters in possession of Mrs. L. C. Lynch, Gainesville, and interview with Mrs. Lynch, May 1945. One letter described a journey in the 1890s taken by a relative from Delaware by boat to Silver Springs and by "private conveyance" to Micanopy and then to Gainesville.

ers changed to the Gainesville and Gulf for Tacoma and nearby settlements.[40] The Gainesville paper in December 1899 announced that there was through train service to Cincinnati, Ohio, via Jessup, Florida. It also noted that the Florida Central and Peninsula's car ran north from Tampa via Silver Springs and Waldo to Jacksonville, and from Cedar Key via Gainesville, Waldo, and Starke to Baldwin.[41]

The most "colorful" railroad in the history of the Micanopy-Gainesville area was the Tampa and Jacksonville, or the T. and J., as it was frequently called. Earlier, when it was still the Gainesville and Gulf, it was sometimes referred to as "the Grits and Gravy." Ironically, with all its changes and vicissitudes, the Tampa and Jacksonville Railroad never reached either place.[42]

In 1917 John A. Whiting, an engineer of the T. and J., designed, patented, and operated a car propelled by a gasoline engine which was leased to his company and put into use on the Gainesville-Sampson City run. It was called the "Hoodler," from the sound of the whistle. Girls traveling from Gainesville to the Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee usually traveled in this car.[43] It met the Atlantic Coast Line at Sampson City for Lake City, and girls transferred there to the Seaboard which carried them to their destination.[44]

Freight trains had their own special schedules. The early 1920s were prosperous years for truck farmers along the T. and J. route, and rail business flourished At harvest time, it was not unusual for the conductor to wait until all his cars were loaded. In the days before statewide frost warning services, sudden temperature declines or unexpected freezes could have tragic consequences for the farmers. When the T. and J. telegraph operators received any ominous weather news the trainmen tried to alert the population. Four short blasts of the whistle as the train moved through the countryside warned the growers

40. Interview with Mrs. H. L. Rosenberger, Micanopy, March 1970.
41. Gainesville *Daily Sun,* December 19, 1899, copy in possession of Mrs. Gordon B. Tison, Gainesville.
42. Interview with former Gainesville Mayor Hal Batey, Gainesville, May 1972.
43. Gainesville *Daily Sun,* December 19, 1899, copy in possession of Mrs. Gordon B. Tison, Gainesville.
44. Interview with Mrs. Arthur McNeely (daughter of John A. Whiting), Gainesville, January 1971. See also map on back cover, "Suwanee River route to Florida," in "Georgia Southern and Florida Railroad" folder, Box 9, MC:PKY.

to take whatever precautions they could. This was probably one of the first broadcasts of weather reports in this part of Florida.[45] In 1927 the T. and J. line was merged with the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, and its name was changed to Jacksonville, Gainesville, and Gulf.[46] The route was extended south to Emathla near Tampa to haul out phosphate rock and fuller's earth.

Passenger service into Micanopy operated until 1930. Two sections were hooked on to the end of a long line of freight and refrigerator cars. The ride was so rough sometimes that locally the T. and J. was referred to as "the Tug and Jerk." The Seaboard operated the road as a freight line. After 1930 occasional passengers could ride in the caboose if they desired and if they were willing to be patient with the slow schedule. Lack of business forced the company to abandon service in 1943.[47]

For many years R. J. Crouch was conductor of the Tampa and Jacksonville Railroad. He ran the last schedule in 1943 when the train, operating with a wrecking crew, preceded the workmen who took up cross ties and rails and loaded them upon flat cars. The rails were purchased by the Horton Car Company.[48] The tracks around Gainesville were purchased by the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, which used them in 1948 to reach its new station at 400 Northwest Sixth Street, constructed on the site of the old T. and J. freight yard. The T. and J. depot in Gainesville, a two-story brick building, located in the 500 block of West University Avenue (present Trailways Bus Station) was purchased by the Stringfellow Supply Company, which utilized it for offices and a warehouse. It is said that a member of the firm kept the same office which he had occupied as a stockholder and operator of the T. and J. Railway Company. The depot in Micanopy, a wooden building, is today (1975) a welder's shop. Its loading platforms are gone, but the large, wide, double, sliding doors on both sides remain. Entrances from the front into former waiting rooms and ticket offices are also intact, and are of interest to railroad buffs and historians.

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45. Personal memory of the author.
46. Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-14. Note proposed route, Sampson City to Emathola, fifty-six miles.
47. Pettengill, *Story*, 125.
48. Interview with Mrs. R. J. Couch, Gainesville, Spring 1972.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hibernia: The Unreturning Tide. By Margaret Seton Fleming Biddle. (New York: Vantage Press, 1974. 140 pp. Preface, epilogue, appendices. $4.50.)

This is the story of the Fleming family, one of Florida's most prestigious; a story always fascinating and in the end nostalgic as the author tells tales of her childhood. Mrs. Biddle, one of Frederic's children, is the Mardy of the last chapter.

In the epilogue, the author states her objective in writing this book: "I have tried to tell of the spirit of Hibernia, of the good and kindly folk who cared for each other there, and in their caring made for themselves the finest of happy lives." And she has succeeded. Moreover, she has added the dimension of place and a sense of belonging to the land, an emotion infrequently experienced by today's nomadic population. This book is no genealogy; rather is it a composite biography of the masters of Hibernia: George and Lewis and Frederic.

When Florida was first visited by Juan Ponce de León, the Lord Treasurer of Ireland was Christopher de Fleming. Two centuries later his kinsman, George Fleming, came to America. In Spanish East Florida, George Fleming became a captain in the Royal Colonial Army. He served his new king well while recalling his native land in the name of his plantation, Hibernia.

In February of 1816 George Fleming petitioned for a 1,000-acre grant of land on a St. Johns River island to which he gave his name. Here he started his plantation and built the family's first home. His wife was the former Sophia Fatio, a daughter of Francis Philip Fatio. Sr. Fatio was undoubtedly the most influential British citizen to remain in Florida after its return to Spanish ownership.

Fleming Island was across the broad St. Johns from New Switzerland where the Fatio plantations were located. Both of these place names survive, but the Fatio and Fleming homes did not survive the torch of marauding Indians. The families fled for their lives, and then returned with peace to begin life again.

In 1857 a new residence was completed at Hibernia, and it became, with improved family fortunes, a magnificent river home, full of visitors and gaiety. But there was sadness too. After the Civil War Hibernia gained a reputation as one of the most popular and fashionable guest houses for northern visitors. For ninety-seven years it also sheltered the Fleming family. The great house is gone now, but in a sense it survives for its timbers and brick were saved to build a nearby house, a modern residence, in 1954.

Many of the great oaks remain. Remaining too is St. Margaret's Episcopal Chapel, a jewel in the forest, bridging the years from the first Margaret, Margaret Seton, who was the second wife of Lewis Fleming.

Fleming and Fatio descendants still live on the island today. Not far away are the great-grandchildren of the thirty-nine blacks who helped the first George carve the plantation from the Florida wilds. All are justifiably proud of their heritage, although they know that a way of life is gone, never to return. The island itself is safe in relative isolation today, but who knows for how long?

This book is not a "first edition" although its title page bears those words. It is, instead, a revision of the original book of the same title published by Mrs. Biddle in 1947. That edition became so rare that this revision has been met with cheers. We can forgive the lack of sources and an index, though we sincerely wish for more information on the Fleming and Fatio families of Florida.

Jacksonville, Florida DENA SNODGRASS

Beyond the Fourth Generation. By Lamar Johnson. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1974. 230 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations. $8.50.)

In the fifty years of his working life in Florida, mostly in the Kissimmee River, Lake Okeechobee, and Everglades region, Lamar Johnson has been increasingly involved in the search for solutions of water problems. He worked as a surveyor in the Everglades from Lake Okeechobee to the Tamiami Trail

in the early 1920s, later became chief engineer of the Everglades Drainage District, predecessor of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District, and, from 1954 to 1970, worked as a consulting engineer on water problems. He views the Florida scene as a member of the fourth generation of Florida builders who have succeeded, but too well, for they have created more problems than they have solved.

About the first three generations his approach is largely historical, but the really great value of his book is his firsthand, first person account of what happened in his own generation, some of which he helped to bring about. Though he is critical of some of the consequences, he places the blame on the long effort to attract people to Florida and the price paid for it. He has seen interest in water change from efforts at drainage alone to growing concern about conservation to guarantee an adequate supply of good quality for the growing population and its activities.

He describes the impact of population growth on the south Florida environment. In the process he tells what it was and how it has been changed. We are reminded again how recent is the movement of large numbers of people into the area. In the early twenties the concern was to drain and reclaim the Everglades. The 1928 hurricane which drowned nearly 2,000 people east and south of Lake Okeechobee revealed how inadequate had been the thinking and the planning. In 1947 hurricane-fed floods killed few people but threatened the economy of the whole drainage basin. The Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District commissioners had one mandate, to get such flood waters under control. Nobody questioned the methods they and the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers worked out. Few if any gave a thought to the environmental impact. Nor did many observers foresee the impact of new millions of people on the same environment. All of this has come to focus at the end of Lamar Johnson's generation. He defends the Corps of Engineers as a construction and operating agency receiving its orders and most of its funds from the Congress of the United States and reacting to the needs and demands of the people and government of Florida.

Along the way in this brief 230-page look at Florida he gives

his views on the central issues that have been raised. You need not agree with him to find the book useful and interesting. He calls attention to tens of thousands of lakes that might have been reserved for public use under Florida law. He refuses to become unduly excited about damage to the Oklawaha River as a wilderness that ought to be reserved unspoiled. It began to be spoiled about 100 years ago. This reminds us that what we are trying to save in most cases is what is left of the natural heritage in certain strategic areas. In much the same way he doubts that the cross-state barge canal, unlike the earlier idea for a ship canal, would have done all of the damage assessed against it. There were some pluses against the greatest danger which may well have been pollution. He is not opposed to the Everglades National Park, but he is critical of the Park management at all levels for some of the stands that have been taken. He recognizes here again an area that cannot be restored to its primeval condition or anything approaching it. What he argues for, though in not so many words, is a balancing of the claims of environment, people and economic interests to achieve rational use and growth. It cannot be achieved by chance.

University of Miami CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

Florida From Secession to Space Age. By Merlin G. Cox and J. E. Dovell. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1974. vii, 264 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, further readings, index. $9.95; $4.95 paper.)

This slender volume essays to trace the evolution of Florida from an agrarian society based on Negro slavery in 1861 to a largely urbanized and increasingly integrated society based on a diversified economy in the 1960s. The treatment is chronological. Slightly more than half of the text (140 pages) is devoted to the twentieth century; the remainder (118 pages) covers the period 1861-1900.

A chapter on the Civil War in Florida is followed by a relatively comprehensive discussion of Reconstruction. Thereafter, each gubernatorial administration from that of George F. Drew, 1877-1881, through Haydon Burns's, 1965-1967, serves

as the framework for the narrative. The term of the latter's successor, Claude R. Kirk, Jr. (1967-1971), is allotted a single paragraph which contains the only reference to Reuben Askew, elected in 1970.

The cursory treatment of Kirk and Askew suggests that it is inserted in a text written several years ago and hastily added before publication. There is other textual evidence to this effect, the most striking of which is in the final statistical section, where figures cited are taken from a secondary work published in 1967, although final reports of the 1970 census have been available since mid-1972 And, in view of the publication of Charlton Tebeau's *A History* of *Florida* in 1971, no preface written since that year could claim, as does the undated preface to this book, that "it provides the first serious study of life and labor in twentieth-century Florida."

Sections on economic and social history are interpolated in the political narrative under topical headings and subheadings. In this way considerable attention is given to such topics as drainage, railroad expansion and consolidation, agriculture, education, the penal system, tourism, and population growth. The treatment is uneven, however, and the organization results in a fragmentation of recurring topics that is bound to confuse the reader.

There are also careless and confusing lacunae. General Pope "appointed' Colonel Sprague, but the name of the office is not given. The railroad from Pensacola to the Apalachicola River was a part "of the original proposal of 1855," but that proposal is not explained. Farris Bryant's plan for replacing the Board of Control by a Board of Regents is mentioned, but its outcome is not recorded. Legislative reapportionment is discussed at some length under the Caldwell and Collins administrations, but the court-mandated apportionment plan of 1967, although mentioned, is not described.

In addition to the kinds of omissions mentioned above, the book is riddled with errors, typographical and otherwise. Words and proper names are frequently misspelled, a few dates are incorrect, some quotations are inaccurately transcribed, or even paraphrased. The notes supporting each chapter are practically useless. Bibliographic information often is so incomplete that

the work cited cannot be readily identified. And in a number of instances there is no discernible relationship between the text and the source cited. The index is a farce.

In short, this is a mediocre work that makes no real contribution to the literature of Florida.

Tallahassee, Florida DOROTHY DODD

Spain: The Rise of the First World Power. By John Fraser Ramsey. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1973. 341 pp. Foreword, map, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $10.50.)

The Iberian Peninsula, invaded and overrun many times before the coming of the Moslems in 711, was never completely unified. Yet this collection of anarchic and contentious kingdoms produced the first world empire by conquests in the New World and the Orient, and by dynastic inheritance in Europe. The roots of Spanish world power were already growing in medieval times, and once Ferdinand (Machiavelli's ideal prince) and Isabella suppressed the anarchy and established the foundations of a modern, absolute monarchy, tremendous Spanish energy was released and coordinated in a drive for empire that astonished the world. The Spanish empire, in the words of Salvador de Madariaga, was "born as a pomegranate bursting forth and dispersing its grains of life throughout a continent." Defining and describing the forces behind this explosion is the author's stated purpose. The result is a most thoughtful and readable book that should aid many a student in comprehending the rise of Spain. It should help, too, to win for Spain a larger place in general works on the emergence of national states in Europe.

About one-third of the book concerns Roman Spain, the Visigothic kingdom, Islamic Spain, the Reconquest, and the rise of Ferdinand and Isabella to power in Aragon and Castile. The remainder treats the dual monarchy and the bewildering succession of events to the death of Ferdinand in 1516. One chapter deals with the origins of the overseas empire, including *La Florida*, and another concerns expansion in Europe. The

Epilogue treats briefly the coming of the Habsburgs, under whom the Spanish empire flowered and withered.

When Ferdinand and Isabella came to power royal authority was at its nadir; their major aim was to make the crown as strong as possible. Their methods were innovative but not revolutionary– increasing royal revenues, curbing the warring and arrogant nobles, governing effectively, and reviving and strengthening the administration of justice. They accomplished these goals by recovering royal lands lost by their predecessors, improving taxation, reorganizing the Council of Castile, employing the Santa Hermandad as a royal police force, bringing the grand masterships of the military orders under the crown, and conquering Granada. But political and economic reforms alone could not have made the Spanish empire possible: "Its real source must be sought in their religious policy. By imposing a religious unity, even with the cruelest and most appalling methods, they succeeded in creating for more than a century and a half a spirit of dedication and fanaticism that made the Spanish world power possible." (p. 178). This volume in the Mediterranean Europe Series I is a credit to its author and publisher.

Texas Christian University DONALD E. WORCESTER

Pedro de la Torre: Doctor to Conquerors. By John Tate Lanning. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. xiv, 145 pp. Preface, prologue, notes, illustrations, epilogue, appendices, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

Delving into archives often turns up curious bits of information that may produce engaging spin-offs from the main inquiry. This slim, small volume of Professor Lanning, an authority on the cultural history of colonial Spanish America, provides an illuminating instance of this phenomenon. While searching in the Spanish records of three centuries of the *protomedicato,* or Medical Inspection Board, he unearthed three *legajos,* or bundles of papers, of the years 1545, 1551, and 1554 that contain legal proceedings relating to the colorful career of Pedro de la Torre, an alleged physician and a conspicuous charlatan in New Spain.

This Spanish adventurer, a former page in the household of Erasmus of Rotterdam, came to the New World as a conqueror in 1535. An affable, vain, and glib "confidence man," he was programmed to create trouble as he carved out a checkered career as a fake doctor in Santa Marta, Cartagena, Honduras, Guatemala, Tehuantepec, Coatzacoalcos, Veracruz, Puebla, and Mexico City. Despite arrests as a medical quack with forged credentials, personal scandals, run-ins with the Inquisition, and a stormy domestic life, he wound up in the viceregal capital as the "classic medical officer charged with keeping watch upon other doctors and imposing the highest ethical and medical standards upon them." He was a prototype of the Spanish *pícaro,* the anti-hero of so many picaresque novels famous in the literature of Spain.

Professor Lanning divides his brief work into three "acts" corresponding to the three files of legal proceedings. The first recounts the exiling from Veracruz in 1545 of the alleged "Doctor of Padua," the title he claimed by substituting his name on the diploma of a graduate of that university. In Act II he returns to Veracruz after a successful appeal of his sentence in Madrid. Soon he is in difficulties with the Inquisition for asserting that "God and Nature are one," and for suspected bigamy. Removed to Puebla, he presently resumes a prosperous medical practice, since widespread epidemics require physicians, however qualified.

The longer Act III is a cloak-and-dagger episode popular in the Spanish theater during its great period. The middle-aged de la Torre here plays the minor role of a cuckolded husband of a nineteen-year-old wife. Of more interest to students of literature is the revelation of the obscure circumstances of the fate of the gifted poet, Gutierre de Cetina, famous for his introduction of Italianate verse forms into the New World. De la Torre's youthful spouse matches her husband's philandering by distributing her favors with abandon among the hot bloods of Puebla, especially the insanely jealous Hernando de Nava, who badly wounds Cetina when the latter serenades the wayward wife, ultimately causing his death. The legal proceedings eventually lead to punishment of Nava by cutting off his right hand.

Seven appendices of original documents complete this slender volume which offers lively glimpses of the state of medicine and of social life in New Spain shortly after the conquest by Cartes.

University of Michigan, Emeritus IRVING A. LEONARD

British Maps of Colonial America. By William P. Cumming. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974. xii, 114 pp. Preface, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $10.95.)

This small but interesting volume is based on four lectures delivered by the author in 1970 as the second series of Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr. Lectures in the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library in Chicago. When presented they were illustrated by 200 slides and an exhibition of original maps of the colonial period. The text of the lectures has been somewhat modified by Professor Cumming for publication and is accompanied by thirty-five black and white reproductions of maps or map details.

The author, now Irvin Professor Emeritus at Davidson College, is internationally known and respected for his earlier book, *The Southeast In Early Maps,* and a more recent work, *The Discovery of North America.* In this book he illustrates his depth of knowledge in a deft and highly readable style. As important as the maps are the men who conceived, drew, and used them in the frontier forests and bustling coastal towns of Britain's American colonies. This concern with persons and personality lends color and verve to Cumming's prose and ensures a pleasant excursion to the general and specialist reader alike. An air of excitement is also here, thanks to the author's concern with newly discovered maps of the period.

The body of the book is comprised of four main sections or chapters. In addition, two appendices, a section of scholarly notes on the four chapters, and a bibliographical essay are provided. Part one, "Mapping the Southern British Colonies," and part three, "Charting the Coast," contain an abundance of ma-

terial which will interest Florida scholars directly. Parts two and four, dealing with "Mapping the Northern British Colonies" and "The Cartography of Conflict," will be read with increased interest as awareness of the sites and events of the early phases of the American Revolution heightens with the onset of Bicentennial observances.

Of particular interest to workers in the fields of historical cartography and carto-bibliography are the two appendices included in the book. Each of these provides a descriptive checklist of North American colonial era maps in heretofore almost unknown private collections. Appendix "A" inventories the American manuscript maps of Sir Francis Bernard, royal governor of Massachusetts Bay (1760-1769), which are now preserved at Nether Winchendon House near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, England. The Bernard maps are of considerable interest, including as they do several domestic maps of this influential gentleman's American estates and the roads leading through the wilderness to them. As Cumming points out, "Probably Sir Francis's most important contribution to cartography was to have careful surveys made of the roads from Boston to Saint George's Fort in Maine, on a one-inch to one-mile scale, and from Boston westward, on a one-inch to two-thirds mile scale" (p. 30). In part, this was the road which the patriots (or rebels, depending on one's view of the conflict) followed as they dragged the heavy guns captured at Fort Ticonderoga to emplacements on Dorchester Heights. These guns contributed mightily to Howe's decision to evacuate Boston in 1776.

Appendix "B" covers the North American manuscript maps from the Revolutionary period including the Earl of Percy's collection housed in Alnwick Castle. Earl Percy was a colonel in command of a British infantry regiment when he landed in Boston on July 4, 1764. Within a week of his arrival he was promoted to major-general. He was active in a number of campaigns in New England and New York until his return to England in 1777. During his stay in America, Earl Percy, later to become the second Duke of Northumberland, collected a truly impressive array of North American maps.

In conclusion there can be no doubt that Cumming has achieved one of his stated objectives in the preparation of this

volume. In his words he hoped "to convey . . . an idea of the copiousness and increasing excellence of the British Cartography of their American colonies so important to them." In his achievement he has served his readership, both general and specialist, handsomely.

University of Georgia LOUIS DE VORSEY, JR.

Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina, From 1670 through the Stono Rebellion. By Peter H. Wood. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974. xxiv, 346 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, abbreviations, notes, tables, appendixes, bibliographical note, index. $10.00.)

Peter H. Wood's *Black Majority* seeks to correct certain misconceptions regarding the role of African slaves in American history. African slaves, he asserts, were the earliest of any major contingent of ethnic immigrants to this country. They constituted a larger proportion of the population in the eighteenth century than their slave and free descendants did in subsequent centuries. They constituted a majority of the population of South Carolina after the early years of the eighteenth century. Because of its black majority, South Carolina stands apart from Virginia and other southern colonies where blacks were numerous but always in the minority.

In Part I, "African Workers in the Carolina Lowlands," Dr. Wood is concerned with the part played by Barbadian sugar planters and their slaves in establishing the mainland colony, the introduction of rice as a staple crop, and the health problems of whites and blacks. Barbados provided seasoned settlers, capital, and knowledge of tropical agriculture. Slaves who came from rice-growing areas of West Africa contributed more than menial labor to the colony's staple industry. Relative immunity to malaria and yellow fever gave the slaves certain physical advantages over the whites and helps to explain the success of wet rice cultivation in colonial South Carolina.

From the Carolina lowlands the author moves in Part II to "The Changing Frontier." In the first chapter the varied roles

of "Black Pioneers" in opening new territory, tending livestock, chopping and sawing timber, extracting naval stores, and building and operating boats are recounted with verve and conviction. The chapter on slave and white demography contains much useful numerical data and analysis. The final chapter traces the linguistic interaction which began in the slave baracoons of West Africa and developed into the colorful Gullah speech in the rice fields of Carolina.

In Part III, "Rising Tensions," Dr. Wood is concerned with growing initiative among blacks which led to mounting anxiety among whites and the increasing number of runaways who, in a real sense, elected to "steal themselves." What prompted slaves to run away, what they took with them, what means of transportation they used, where they sought refuge, and how successful they were in eluding capture are questions which the author answers in a well-documented and perceptive manner.

Part V, "A Colony in Conflict," brings the book to a close with an account of the Stono Rebellion of 1739 and its consequences. Florida figured largely in the uprising, since the slaves planned to reach the protection of the Spaniards at St. Augustine at a time when England and Spain were at war. In consequence of the abortive uprising, a new social equilibrium was established in South Carolina on the basis of repressive slave codes and race separation.

Dr. Wood has made excellent use of primary and secondary sources and historical and social science insights to reconstruct the history of colonial South Carolina from the vantage point of the black slave. The story he tells reaches back to the sugar plantations of Barbados and the baracoons of West Africa, extends from coastal rice plantations to frontier settlements and beyond into Indian country and Spanish Florida. On the whole, the reviewer finds much to praise and very little to criticize. One thing that is missing from *Black Majority* is an account of the day-to-day life of slaves, and especially field hands, on the rice plantations. The fact that the vast majority of runaways were field hands and the Stono Rebellion originated in a rice-growing area would seem to warrant greater attention to the plantation slave and his life of toil and oppression.

University of Kansas RICHARD B. SHERIDAN

British Drums on the Southern Frontier: The Military Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1749. By Larry E. Ivers. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974. xiii, 274 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $12.50.)

This intriguingly titled volume on early Georgia military history comes from the pen of a practicing lawyer. Not surprisingly, the author treats his subject with the care of a professional preparing a brief or a case study and with results that are both interesting and instructive to historians. His subtitle– "The Military Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1749"– quite accurately describes the coverage: from the arrival of the first settlers down to the disbandment of the royal regiment in its final parade formation at Fort Frederica. But neither title nor subtitle indicates fully the variety and suggestiveness of the matter covered in the sixteen chapters. The author sticks to his subject without straying into fascinating byways, and yet his straightforward account of "military colonization" manages to illuminate some major themes touching the history of the southwestern frontier. For example, diplomatic relations with the southwest Indians– particularly the Creek– and sharp rivalry with South Carolina for the coveted Indian trade figure almost as prominently in certain years as defense against the Spaniard in the disputed land. The nexus between trade and empire comes across clearly in the initial chapters.

Understandably the thrust of this monograph is military colonization and its function in Anglo-Spanish conflict. Quite naturally the bulk of the account (chapters VII-XV) treats the momentous decade following 1739, when the War of Jenkins's Ear erupted and merged into the more general conflict that Americans have always called King George's War. Certain chapters present in broad panorama preparations for strategic moves (e.g., chapters VII and XI), while others picture in minute detail tactical maneuvers of units down to the squad level (chapters IX and XII). This arrangement has the merit of bringing into sharp focus shortcomings at both strategic and tactical levels. Strategically the problems of coordinating the war effort proved almost insurmountable for James Oglethorpe, who strained even his abundant energies to bring the military

forces and logistical support of South Carolina, Georgia, and the crown into some sort of working harmony. Tactically, operations were plagued, and often stymied, by the lack of dependable intelligence and elementary errors of junior officers in failing to post security or maintain communications. The Battle of Fort Mosa early in the war, 1740, and the Battle of Bloody Marsh two years later are cases in point.

The author gives due credit to General Oglethorpe, the principal figure in organizing the defense of the southern frontier. If at one point (pp. 172-173) he enthusiastically pulls all the stops in praise of Oglethorpe's leadership, for the most part he is judicious in his evaluations of the general, not glossing over those shortcomings that denied him sustained success as a military commander. Throughout, the author's judgments, and his factual account as well, command the kind of respect that follows patently meticulous research in an exhaustive array of sources. Beyond the primary task of dredging up new data Mr. Ivers has integrated his findings skillfully into existing scholarship and has illuminated his subject with a series of maps that help to carry the reader through the intricacies of fortifications, troop dispositions, and maneuvers on the southwestern frontier. In sum he has produced an admirable study and a useful addition to the literature.

University of Georgia AUBREY C. LAND

The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804. Edited by John Francis McDermott. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974. xiii, 421 pp. Foreword, notes, illustrations, contributors, index. $15.00.)

When the French secretly transferred Louisiana to the Spanish in November 1762, much of the continent to the west of the Mississippi changed hands. The story of the ensuing four decades of lenient Spanish rule has yet to be told in full. A group of established scholars have held several professional meetings in recent years in order to encourage the careful study of this period. At one of these meetings, held on the Edwardsville

campus of Southern Illinois University in April 1970, a number of research papers were presented. Now, under the editorship of Professor John Francis McDermott, sixteen of the papers have been collected and published by the University of Illinois Press under the title, *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804*. The authors represented in this volume are C. Richard Arena, John Francis Bannon, S. J., Carl H. Chapman, John G. Clark, William S. Coker, John C. Ewers, C. Harvey Gardiner, Robert L. Gold, A. Otis Hebert, Jr., Jack D. L. Holmes, Noel M. Loomis, John Francis McDermott, John Preston Moore, Abraham P. Nasatir, Charles E. O'Neill, S. J., and Samuel Wilson, Jr. Obviously the limitation of space makes reference to all of the papers impossible, and no slight is intended to those authors not specifically mentioned.

As the editor points out, no effort was made to stress any particular theme other than the general interest in events taking place prior to 1804. It is fitting that in the opening article Father Bannon sketches the background for the transfer treaty. His point is well taken that although the new masters did hold the area for forty years, French influence remained paramount even to the appointment of several French officers to important governmental posts. It was perhaps significant that the province was attached for administration to the captaincy-general of Cuba rather than to New Spain. Professor Arena in some detail traces Spanish attempts to introduce a comprehensive landholding system directed primarily to increasing the local population and agricultural output by the founding of new settlements. This effort was beginning to attract the attention of settlers from the United States at the turn of the century and possibly was an indication of later American penetration into the Provincias Internas. Professor Clark in a study of the cabildo of New Orleans indicates how dependant the lower Mississippi area eventually became on the numerous products, largely foodstuffs, from the United States. This led to the question of how to accommodate Spanish orders to halt this trade and the necessity to continue it in order to survive. In what might be called a lighter vein, Professor Holmes contributed a detailed study with appropriate statistics of regulations on taverns and the liquor trade with an indication that even then the strictures against

selling spirits to the Indians were winked at to a degree by the authorities. For those interested in the charitable work of Andrés Almonester y Rexas and his efforts in erecting several religious edifices, Professor Wilson has prepared an exceptionally fine account with a number of excellent illustrations.

Possibly the most useful articles for students interested in the location and state of preservation of source materials, are the three by Professors Hébert, Gardiner, and O'Neill. The extensive footnotes to all the articles are a goldmine of bibliographic information. Anyone glancing through this volume will be brought up to date on the status of research on the history of the period from 1762 to 1804.

University of Georgia RICHARD K. MURDOCH

Washington: The Indispensable Man. By James Thomas Flexner. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974. xvii, 423 pp. Preface, introduction, maps, illustrations, acknowledgements, bibliography, index. $12.50.)

Admirers of George Washington and James Thomas Flexner will be happy that Flexner wrote this succinct, summary capstone to his four-volume biography of Washington. No new historical information is presented, but the person seeking a readable and fact-packed book on our first "national leader" need look no further.

Flexner portrays Washington as a very complex American—and indeed he was. At times the narrative becomes disjointed because of the multifaceted career and character of the Virginia planter, husband, military chief, political leader, and father figure for American nationalists in the early years of the Republic. Washington, according to Flexner, was shaped by a lack of education, a "gentleman's background" in slaveholding Virginia, vast wilderness experience, ever-present ambition, his bitter adventures as a "colonial officer" in the British armed forces, and his Revolutionary perception of the need for a spirit of American nationalism to conquer provincialism. Washington did not fear a strong central government, he sought it.

Flexner's candid view of Washington's attitude toward becoming president is refreshing. Here is a flesh and blood man of vigor and great ego, not being reluctantly dragged forth from Mount Vernon kicking and screaming, but "looking forward to the office with eagerness" as a solution, in part, to both national and personal economic problems (p. 213). But once in office, Washington initiated few major policies, prefering to judge proposals of his cabinet members. Flexner argues that Washington was neither a Hamiltonian nor a Jeffersonian, but Jefferson became firmly convinced that Washington was Hamilton's "apprentice" (p. 246). Flexner boldly observes that Washington lost much of his will to govern and most of his interest in all but the critical policy decisions during his second term– at the end, his was a caretaker government.

Washington, of course, owed his fame and political fortunes to his highly successful performance as commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary army. He began his military career as "an incompetent provincial officer" (p. 18), but ultimately triumphed over the best British armies. Flexner blames Washington's failures as commander-in-chief on undisciplined troops, poor subordinate officers, and the political need to defend New York and Philadelphia. He gives Washington full credit for realizing that merely preserving his army would lead to American victory, but does not recognize Washington's astute handling of the Continental Congress and the provincial governing bodies. It is ironic that Washington's military career should be launched by the killing of a French "ambassador" in 1754 (p. 16), and climaxed by a combined France-American victory at Yorktown in 1781.

Flexner does not neglect the private man-husband, land speculator, planter, and slaveholder. He realistically chronicles Washington's failures and successes in these areas, including Washington's growing disillusionment with slavery as a labor system and as a moral issue that culminated in a decision to free his slaves in his 1799 will, Washington's behavior toward slavery was at times contradictory and self-serving, but he was the only Virginia "founding father" to free his own slaves.

No biographer of Washington can escape the myths and aura that surround this American folk-hero. Flexner does not, but he

does offer a sound, well-written account of this important historical figure in one, brief volume.

Library of Congress GERARD W. GAWALT

William H. Crawford, 1772-1834. By Chase C. Mooney. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974. xi, 364 pp. Preface, notes, note sources, index. $15.00.)

Among outstanding national political leaders of the decade following the War of 1812, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, and James Madison all attracted the attention of distinguished biographers during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Two others of major importance, James Monroe and William H. Crawford, were relatively neglected by scholars until recently, and their contributions have accordingly tended to be undervalued by historians of the present generation. Fortunately, the publication in 1971 of Harry Ammon's definitive *James Monroe: the Quest for National Identity,* and now Mooney's *William H. Crawford* are correcting the historical imbalance.

In undertaking to write a biography of Crawford, Professor Mooney took on a difficult if not impossible task, for most of Crawford's personal papers were destroyed. Furthermore, Crawford's career was not nearly so newsworthy as those of his political rivals. Nevertheless, as the recognized leader of a powerful faction of conservative Republicans in Congress, he was a force to be reckoned with, and Presidents Madison and Monroe deemed it prudent to placate him in turn with an ambassadorship to France, and with the posts of secretary of war and secretary of the treasury. His large congressional following made him a strong early contender for the presidency in 1824, but ill-health and identification with the unpopular congressional caucus ruined his chances for election. After his defeat, Crawford returned permanently to Georgia and political obscurity. Professor Mooney, therefore, had to find significance in a political career that climaxed in failure.

Drawing mainly on materials in the National Archives,

Professor Mooney produced a history of Crawford's public career which reveals little about his personal life or personality. Limited by his sources, the author dealt entirely too briefly with Crawford's career in the Senate where he constructed his base of power, while devoting most of the book to his terms as secretary of war and secretary of the treasury and to his unsuccessful race for the presidency. Mooney concluded that Crawford was a far better administrator than his critics admitted, while making it clear that Crawford held the treasury post for several terms because of his influence with Congress rather than his ability as an executive. Mooney also defended Crawford against allegations of his rivals and their biographers that he was an overly-ambitious, unscrupulous, self-serving politician, contending that lie was actually a man of ability and integrity, if not outstanding intellect.

Judged by the usual standards of biography, Professor Mooney's Crawford is disappointing, for he is able to paint no clear portrait of Crawford. His analysis of the workings of the treasury department during Crawford's tenure as secretary is undoubtedly Professor Mooney's greatest contribution. For this reason, the biography is a useful adjunct to Leonard D. White's *The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History*. Despite its shortcomings, Professor Mooney's biography of Crawford probably will endure for many years as the best work on the subject.

Florida State University JOHN HEBRON MOORE

Plantation, Town, and Country: Essays on the Local History of American Slave Society. Edited by Elinor Miller and Eugene D. Genovese. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974. 457 pp. Introduction, notes, index. $12.95.)

This valuable collection of twenty-one essays on slave society in the Old South is the first thoughtful and thorough work of its kind on the subject. The essays serve as in-depth studies of the slave system within cities and counties of the upper, middle, and lower South. Variable characteristics in these geographical settings present opportunity for comparative analyses.

In Burke County, North Carolina, and Dickson County, Tennessee, a slave aristocracy never did develop because soil and climate were unsuited to the cultivation of staple crops. Average holdings were small and treatment of slaves was less harsh than on large plantations. Owner and slave knew each other and worked together. Elias W. Napier of Dickson County provided in his will that thirty of his slaves be manumitted. Christopher Strong stipulated in his will that his slaves be taught to read the Bible, a provision not likely to be found in old wills of slaveholders in the cotton, rice, and sugar plantation belts. In Jackson County, Missouri, the plantation system was the exception rather than the rule. Few white families owned more than one family of blacks, and the owner, with his sons, labored in the same field with the slave.

Development of the great plantations of the southeast is exemplified in the financial career of the Reverend Charles Pettigrew of North Carolina. After the Revolutionary War, Pettigrew invested in land and slaves to develop a rice plantation along Albemarle Sound. His labor force was supplied by several of his parishioners, whose slave ship, the *Guineaman*, brought Pettigrew's Negroes directly from Africa. For two years, these slaves were engaged in digging canals, constructing flood gates, and preparing rice fields for cultivation. Many of them developed malaria and respiratory diseases as a result of the swampy environment. Another large rice plantation, whose owner was John F. Tucker, was located on the Savannah River in Georgia. Tucker was engaged in illegal slave trading and was brought to trial in 1859. He was not convicted. On a Texas plantation during the season of sugar-making, slaves were hired from other owners to work day and night to harvest the cane and process the juice.

The essays cover many aspects of the slave economy which include the system of slave hiring, control and resistance of slaves, variations in treatment of slaves on farms and plantations, and conditions of free blacks in the South and in two northern cities. Missing from the essays is the folk culture of the Afro-American, his religion, racial attitudes from his view, and the indispensable role that he played in the development of a plantation society. Though this edited study is an excellent account-

ing of the slave system in local settings and will serve the student well, there is more to be learned of slave life in the Old South.

Georgia Southern College JULIA F. SMITH

Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery. By Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974. xviii, 286 pp. Prologue, graphs, maps, tables, epilogue, acknowledgments, index. $8.95.)

Time on the Cross: Evidence and Methods--A Supplement. By Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974. xi, 267 pp. Appendixes, notes, tables, list of references. $12.50.)

Calling themselves "cliometricians," Fogel and Engerman claim to have revolutionized the status of historical knowledge about antebellum plantation slavery by subjecting what they call "the traditional interpretation" to rigorous quantitative analysis, the prevailing methodology of the social sciences. With audacity considerably enhanced by their lack of awareness of the present state of traditional historical knowledge, they lecture "traditional historians" on their past errors. Using a method which is allegedly so complicated that ordinary historians cannot understand it, they arrive at ten "new" conclusions about slavery. Among them, slavery was a rational, efficient labor system; slavery was strong and dynamic on the eve of the Civil War and slaveowners were optimistic; slavery was compatible with industrial development; planters encouraged slave families; material conditions of slaves were better than those of free white workers, and bondsmen received about ninety per cent of the income they produced; and, the southern economy was growing rapidly in the late 1850s.

That many of these conclusions are not "new" to historians of slavery, or that Fogel and Engerman are less knowledgeable of recent literature on the subject than they might be, are not the most serious deficiencies of *Time on the Cross*. Rather, the

harm is in what they have done to the method they propound. For example: large quantities of food were produced in the South, someone must have eaten it; therefore, slave diets were abundant. This may or may not be sound reasoning, but it is not quantitative analysis. Few slave families were broken up by sale since existing records do not show otherwise. One might conclude with equal soundness that the lack of records means that such information was not recorded. Equally shallow arguments are offered to show that miscegenation was minimal and insignificant.

I happen to believe that quantitative analysis is a useful supplementary tool for historians. But it will not bear the burden that Fogel and Engerman give it. Whether he be traditionalist, "impressionist," or behaviorist, a historian must remember that people did not live in the past to make our task easy. They acted entirely for their own purposes. It is our obligation to take the existing record and put together the story. The quantifier must realize that his "data base" may be skewed by courthouse fires, inconsiderate rodents, incompetent census takers, or mere failure to record information. Behaviorists using past records must make judgments on incomplete evidence just as "traditional" historians have done. Fogel and Engerman have done this again and again in *Time on the Cross.* They have served themselves and their discipline poorly by their ambivalence in acknowledging it.

Many readers will be grateful for the unusual method by which the publishers divided the book into two volumes. While some of the supporting charts and graphs are included in the narrative volume, most of the explanatory footnotes are included in the separate *Evidence and Methods.* The latter is divided into three appendices. Appendix A is an excellent discussion of the strengths and limitations of the scientific method in history. Appendix B contains the bulk of the methodological footnotes to the first volume. Appendix C is a discussion of the secondary works which the authors consulted.

Time on the Cross will probably not have the impact on interpretations of slavery anticipated by its authors. But it may serve as a focal point on which traditional and quantitative historians come to grips with the issues posed for historians by

quantitative analysis. That in itself would be no small contribution.

Florida Technological University JERRELL H. SHOFNER

Black Business in the New South: A Social History of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. By Walter B. Weare. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. x, 312 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, tables, epilogue, sources, index. $10.95.)

An earlier version of the study under review was done as a doctoral dissertation. For the most part, the author uses a chronological narrative for his structural approach; however, his best chapter is devoted to a topical analysis of politics and race. Due to the situation of black businesses in a Jim Crow South and the author's preference, what emerges. is the study of a black institution in its social and cultural milieu.

The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company (NCM) was founded in 1898 in Durham by seven blacks, although A. M. Moore, a physician, and John Merrick, a businessman, formed the core of the organization. C. C. Spaulding was added later and became the third member of the triumvirate which saw the company through its difficult first years. Weare concentrates most of the narrative on Spaulding's development of the firm, first as general manager and then. as president (1923-1952). The post-World War II years are treated in an epilogue. First working within the narrow confines of a Durham office, the NCM was able to grow into the largest Negro business in the nation. In 1921 the NCM moved into a six-story office building on Parrish Street in Durham– "the Black Wall Street of America" in the "Capital of the Black Middle Class." The influence of the NCM was pervasive within the black community. It fostered many businesses, including real estate, banking, and publishing. Its directors and officers also influenced decision-making in the churches and schools, and civic activities on the local, state, and national levels.

Weare is adept at explaining the complexities involved in the tensions between profit motivation and race uplift, racial

solidarity and integration, and competition with white and black insurance companies for business. He convincingly argues that the powerful black businessman provided the black community's political leverage, at times effectively, during the reign of Jim Crow. The author's best insight is evident in his presentation of C. C. Spaulding as a link between the policies and politics of Booker T. Washington and the civil rights movement of the 1960s. From the standpoint of historiography, Weare is his own best advocate. He interprets his monograph as a study of a part of the "middle range of leadership . . . who quietly dominated the interregnum between Booker T. Washington and Martin Luther King" (p. 262).

University of Florida EDWARD N. AKIN

A Century of Jewish Life in Dixie: The Birmingham Experience. By Mark H. Elovitz. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1974, viii, 258 pp. Foreword, preface, appendixes, glossary, notes, sources consulted, index. $10.00.)

Suddenly, and unaccountably, within a very brief time, a number of volumes dealing with Jewish history in the American South have made their appearance. Leonard Dinnerstein's *Jews in the South* is an anthology made up of previously published papers of uneven quality, some outdated and others inadequate. This work demonstrates how much more research needs to be undertaken. Harry Golden's *Our Southern Landsman* is a potpourri of sloppy digests of the research of others and anecdotes in the author's characteristic style. The latter are as always amusing and instructive, the former a menace to unwary readers. Eli N. Evans's *The Provincials: A Personal History of the Jews of the South* is a melange of autobiography, family history, and historical background. Evans is an impressive writer, and his fathers' story is fascinating, but the author is no historian and he cannot evaluate the trends he discerns. Whatever may be the reason for this burst of interest in a previously neglected subject, it is to be hoped that other students and writers will be stimulated to engage in some of the fundamental monographic

research which is necessary if such volumes as these are to become more than rehashes of prior and incomplete scholarship.

It is a pleasure to welcome Rabbi Elovitz' book on Birmingham Jewry (presumably a reworking of a doctoral dissertation) to the shelves of Jewish communal histories. The volume has much to commend it: serious research, oral interviews, an important community. Birmingham is a new city as southern centers go, and so is its Jewry. The first settlers were Germanic Jews; after they established themselves and organized a congregation, they were joined by Eastern European co-religionists. The wide gulf that separated the two groups virtually until the post-World War II period is one of the main themes of Elovitz' study. The inner tensions of the Jewish community are matched by large-scale anxieties vis-à-vis the non-Jewish environment: typically southern Jewish concern with interfaith relations, with leadership in non-sectarian causes, and with Gentile reactions to Jewish activities.

The author offers some fascinating data relating to the abortive visit of nineteen Conservative rabbis (from the North) to Birmingham in 1963 as part of a demonstration of solidarity with Martin Luther King's black followers, but seems unwilling to state his own analysis of the situation with any certainty. He has found no evidence that the second Ku Klux Klan victimized Jews, but one cannot help but wonder whether his informants were simply being cautious. Surely some kind of suggestion is implicit in Irving Engel's recollection of being told by Klansman that "I was not the kind of Jew they were after" (p. 86). The best chapter deals with three distinguished leaders of the community, William P. Engel, Louis Pizitz, and Mervyn Sterne, but it is difficult to believe that none of them had even a tiny fault. Altogether missing is any reference to a problem which has always plagued southern communities, intermarriage. The book would have been enhanced had it included a sheaf of illustrations to flesh out the descriptions of institutions and personalities. But, taken in all, Elovitz has given us a useful volume and a valuable addition to our as yet very incomplete knowledge of the details of Jewish life in the South.

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York School BERTRAM W. KORN

The Political Status of the Negro in the Age of FDR. By Ralph J. Bunche. Edited with an Introduction by Dewey W. Grantham. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973. xxxiii, 682 pp. Author's preface, editor's introduction, a note on the editing, illustrations, footnotes, bibliography, index. $17.50.)

When the young Swedish social economist from the University of Stockholm, Gunner Myrdal, began in 1939 his enormous study of the Negro in the United States for the Carnegie Corporation, one of the more important members of his research team was a young Harvard Ph.D. in political science named Ralph Johnson Bunche. Then a professor at Howard University, Bunche already had considerable standing as a student of race relations and international affairs. As an enthusiastic staff member of the Myrdal project, Bunche and his three assistants conducted field interviews (as did Myrdal) in 1939 and 1940. From this raw material Bunche fashioned four of the forty-odd research monographs which were the basis of the final Myrdal product. Bunche referred to his monographs as memoranda, since they were, in his candid warning, roughly written, and they sometimes sacrificed analysis for the inclusion of more primary materials and for the demands of a breakneck deadline. The most substantial of these was "The Political Status of the Negro, With Emphasis on the South and Comparative Treatment of the 'Poor White,' " which in the original ran to 1,660 typed pages. It is this sizable piece of material which Professor Grantham has edited down to six chapters of general commentary which analyze the scene for us, followed by nineteen chapters based on the interviews and field reports covering every aspect of black people in the politics of the South.

The attitudes of southern whites are painfully catalogued: the poor white farmer who hides his inability to pay the poll taxes behind a facade of indifference, his wife's belief that politics is not a woman's affair, and the fears of many that the votes of blacks will be bought and exploited by crooked politicians. The dodges of southern registrars to keep blacks off the voter lists are innumerable: application blanks that were literary tests in themselves, disappearing officials, Constitutional quizzes that

would have stumped any city official. The Negro voters found fewer barriers in the urban centers of the upper South, and the black cotton farmer received an unusual voting opportunity in the AAA cotton referenda. But rewards for Negro political participation were sparse. Municipal appointments were few and at the lowest levels. According to a prominent Negro Republican, $146,000 of WPA money was spent every month in his hometown of Jackson, Mississippi, yet not a single Negro white collar worker had ever been appointed. In public services, Negroes received high schools in the 1920s after extended agitation, but they usually lacked adequate clinical, library, or playground facilities. As Bunche and Myrdal both concluded, race relations in the United States was not a "Negro problem" but a "white man's problem."

This volume includes a comprehensive introduction by its editor, Dewey Grantham, and a wealth of photographs done by Farm Security Administration teams.

Old Dominion University RALPH F. DE BEDTS

Serpent in Eden: H. L. Mencken and the South. By Fred C. Hobson, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974. xv, 242 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

During the heyday of H. L. Mencken in the 1920s America had need of his acid wit and his refusal to make intellectual compromises. More especially, the South had need of him; it was he who christened it "the Sahara of the Bozart." It is difficult today to think of a South without its symphony orchestras and museums and arts councils and international literary reputation. Professor Hobson of the University of Alabama has written a thorough examination of Mencken's historical relationship to the South– for he was, geographically, a Southerner– and of the South's relationship to Mencken in the days before what might be termed the South's cultural explosion, To southern contemporaries, Hobson tells us, Mencken "occupied a rank on the scale of vilification somewhere between Satan and Sherman."

Did Mencken's scathing denunciation intentionally spark the South's literary renaissance? Some writers, notably Oscar Cargill, have seriously suggested this; Hobson's position seems closer to the truth: "Mencken was approaching the South as he approached many other subjects— as an interesting and humorous phenomenon that bore examination. It was the response to this essay that led him to become a participant— even a crusader— in the Southern literary and intellectual movement." He was also "concerned with the Grand Sweep, the great and epochal movements of a national literature and culture-and, even more, with the battle of ideas that underlies these movements." Mencken was not merciful; he did not explain the absence of Fricks and Ryersons and Rockefellers below the Mason-Dixon line by sparse industry, nor did he excuse the sentimentalism of a post-Reconstruction South by pointing to its colonial status. Hobson reminds us, however, that in Mencken's way he, too, was a sentimentalist. Had the southern aristocracy retained control, he believed, everything would have been different. The South would have been Klanless and urbane.

By its own definition Hobson's book is provincial— "frankly sectional," as journalist Gerald W. Johnson affirms in his foreword. To this reader the sectionalism seemed to shrink Mencken, for in his prime he was a national force. But one can hardly quibble with an author for sticking to his purpose. Even so, it is useful to remember that other parts of America were far from artistic heavens: Chicago could not support an opera, and Carol Kennicott was fighting Main Street. America still looked to Europe for the higher things in life. Mencken castigated not only the South but, time after time, the entire country into action born of shame for the existence of what he called the Booboisie.

Hobson deals first with Mencken's indictment of the South. Subsequent chapters treat the "little magazines" and the South's literary awakening, Menckenism as a literary force, the South and social critics, James Branch Cabell as "the last aristocrat," and the Southern Agrarians, that group of distinguished minds who came to believe in tradition and plantations in the face of all reason and who wrote great books either in spite of or because of this creed. The Cabell chapter is brilliant. In his con-

clusion Hobson argues that Menckenism was a necessary response to southern mental aridity. But "in itself it was not enough." It laid the foundation of the "positive response" which bred, among others, William Faulkner.

Hobson's index, notes, and bibliography are exhaustive. Sometimes his book is too much so, but it belongs in any library aiming at a representative collection of American criticism.

Tallahassee, Florida GLORIA JAHODA

BOOK NOTES

Mills B. Lane of Savannah is publishing under the imprint of Beehive Press some of the most beautiful and valuable books about Georgia and the South ever to come out of the region. Each book, whether a new edition of a classic or an original publication, contains some special ingredient making it unique and valuable. More important is Mr. Mills's objective: "To make a contribution to the gentle arts and humanities." There is always a need for good regional books; this need is even more urgent as the nation approaches the Bicentennial. One of Beehive Press's most ambitious publications is a new edition of Mark Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands.* The excellent introduction by George Frick includes biographical data on Catesby who, until fairly recently, has been virtually anonymous. With almost no money and little formal education, Catesby arrived in Virginia in 1712, and began collecting plants. Some of his seeds were sent to Henry Compton, Bishop of London, for his great garden at Fulham Palace. Catesby explored the Appalachian Mountains to the sources of the James River and also the Blue Ridge. Later, he sailed on a provision ship for Jamaica. For three months in 1722 he toured the Carolinas and the territory later to become Georgia. In 1725 he was in the Bahamas. The Beehive Press edition of his writings, the first since the eighteenth century, includes all 220 of his illustrations, including fifty in full color. Paper, printing, binding, and illustrations are of the finest quality, and justify

the price of $50.00. There is also a prospectus volume describing the edition and containing a sample color plate suitable for framing for $5.00.

Not all of Beehive's books are expensive. Most are moderately priced, but in every case they exemplify the finest quality work. A new edition of *Tobacco Road* by Erskine Caldwell sells for $15.00. In 1936, Caldwell toured Georgia and the South with the famous photographer, Margaret Bourke-White, and this edition of *Tobacco Road* presents these photographs for the first time. *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* by William Bartram is a facsimile of the 1792 edition. It contains nine original plates and seventeen other illustrations, together with an introduction by Gordon DeWolf of Harvard. Bartram explored the coastlines of Carolina and Georgia and moved westward through Florida. His notes and scientific drawings provide one of the most detailed and valuable accounts of Florida during the British period. This volume sells for $16.00.

The Rambler in Georgia, edited by Mills Lane, is a compilation of travelers' accounts of frontier Georgia from 1796, when the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt visited Savannah, to the journey into "the Seaboard Slave states," made by Frederick Law Olmsted during the 1850s. The thirteen Georgia travelers selected by Mr. Mills comment on climate, population, business, the state of the government, and the customs and manners of the people. This book sells for $16.00. William Sherman's "march from Atlanta to the sea" was for Georgians the most famous and terrible event in the tragic history of the Civil War. If for all Southerners it symbolized human distress, terror, and sorrow, in the North it was hailed as a triumphant procession guaranteeing that the South had indeed lost the war. Sherman's memoir of the march first appeared in 1875, together with his letters to Mrs. Sherman. This new edition by Beehive Press carries the title *"War Is Hell!"* It includes contemporary drawings, photographs, and maps, and sells for $20.00.

During the 1930s, field workers of the WPA Federal Writers' Project interviewed most of the handful of former slaves who

were still living. Their dim memories of plantation life, education, religion, runaways, the Civil War and freedom, and the memorable events that mark the progress of human living– births, weddings, deaths– were described in varying detail. These slave interviews are extraordinary documents and have provided rich data for contemporary scholars and researchers, historians and novelists. Complete interviews with eighteen former Georgia slaves and selections from fifty more have been edited by Ronald Killion and Charles Waller and have been published by Beehive Press, under the title, *Slavery Time When I Was Chillun Down On Marster's Plantation.* Contemporary photographs of Georgia plantation life at the end of the nineteenth century are included. This book sells for $9.00. All books may be ordered from Beehive Press, 321 Barnard Street, Savannah, Georgia 31401.

Yesterday's Fort Myers, by Marian Bailey Godown and Alberta Colcord Rawchuck, is the newest volume in the Historic Cities Series published by E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., Miami, Florida. This series previously has portrayed the pictorial history of Miami, St. Petersburg, Tampa, Key West, the Florida Keys, Sarasota, and Clearwater. Many of the pictures in the Fort Myers volume are reproduced for the first time. From a section of the 1830 map of General Zachary Taylor showing the Caloosahatchee region, the pictures continue to the present. They include some of the fascinating personalities who were associated with the history of the community like "Wild Bill" Belvin, Thomas Edison, Henry Ford, Connie Mack, and Seminole Indians. The book sells for $7.95.

Peace River Pioneers, by Louise K. Frisbie, is a folklore account of the people and families living in the Peace River Valley– from Bartow to the Gulf– one of the oldest sections of Florida. Zibe King, Jake Summerlin, Bone Mizell, Colonel Issac Trabue, the Albert Carlton family, the Hendry family, Spessard L. Holland, Park Trammell, and Henry Laurens Mitchell are among the scores of important political leaders, Indian traders, land developers, cattlemen, and citrus growers who pioneered in what is now Bartow, Fort Meade, Wauchula, Bowling Green, Zolfo Springs, Arcadia, Fort Ogden, Punta Gorda, and Charlotte Harbor. There are a number of illustrations included. Published

by E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., P.O. Box K, Miami, *Peace River Pioneers* sells for $6.95.

Florida Pioneers and Their Alabama, Georgia, Carolina, Maryland and Virginia Ancestors is a genealogical study by David A. Avant, Jr., of Tallahassee. The pioneers that the author describes trace their ancestry back to earlier beginnings in this country. The first Federal Census of Florida in 1830 lists Tatums, Carpenters, Hunters, and Davises as already living in Leon and Gadsden counties. David Alonso Avant, Sr., arrived in Florida in 1905 from Alabama. The history of his family and the other twenty-five major families covered in this study span the period of American history from 1619 to the present. The data has been compiled from courthouse, military, religious, pension, and census records, state and national. This is a valuable source document for both genealogists and historians. It is available from the publisher, L' Avant Studios, P.O. Box 1711, Tallahassee, Florida 32302. The price is $33.00.

Florida Fossils: A Guide To Finding and Collecting Fossils in Florida is by Marian Murray of St. Petersburg, whose earlier book was *Hunting for Fossils* (reviewed, *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLVII, July 1968, pp. 88-89). While there has always been an interest in Florida fossils, Ms. Murray points out how this began to attract the attention of scientists about the time of the discovery of Florida phosphates at the end of the nineteenth century. The major research on Florida fossils is being done at the Florida State Museum at the University of Florida, and there are important specimens in museums and private collections elsewhere in Florida. The book was published by Trend House, Tampa; it sells for $2.95.

Rivers of Florida, by Henry Marks and Gene Britt Riggs, lists the major waterways of Florida. Most have been described elsewhere, in books and articles, but the authors have written short, concise descriptions and have added a number of pictures. The book sells for $4.95, and may be ordered from Southern Press, Inc., 301 Terry-Hutchins Building, 102 Clinton Avenue W., Huntsville, Alabama 35801.

Florida, A Place in the Sun, includes stunning photographs by Heinz Erhardt and a readable, factually-accurate narrative by Al Burt. Two Floridas are portrayed: Tourist Florida– the one seen by most visitors, and "the other Florida," which includes the little towns and hamlets, the backroad communities and wilderness areas hardly known except by their residents and other Floridians. Many of the illustrations are in full color. Some of the places photographed have hardly been touched at all by the twentieth century; others have been dramatically affected by Disney World, the Kennedy Space Center, tourists, and the growth of agriculture and industry. Mr. Burt's narrative covers Florida from its discovery in 1513 by Juan Ponce de León to the present. The volume is priced at $14.95, and may be ordered from the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 5497, Tallahassee, 32301.

Colonial Pensacola, edited by James R. McGovern, is the first volume in a series of books about Pensacola and West Florida being published to celebrate the Bicentennial. *Colonial Pensacola* includes three essays which make important contributions to our knowledge of the history of the area: Irving A. Leonard's covers Pensacola's first Spanish Period, 1698-1763; Robert R. Rea writes on the British Period, 1763-1781; and Jack D. L. Holmes describes the second Spanish Period, 1781-1821. There is also included a chronology of historical events, plus excerpts from documents and manuscripts relating to the period, and several maps and illustrations. The book was published by the Pensacola-Escambia Development Commission, and may be ordered from the *Pensacola News-Journal,* P.O. Box 12710, Pensacola, Florida. The price is $5.00; paperback, $2.50.

The essay by Professor Rea, "Pensacola Under the British, 1763-1781," is available as a pamphlet titled, *British Pensacola, 1763-1781.* It sells for fifty cents, and may be ordered from the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, P.O. Box 308, Pensacola 32595. The Board has also reprinted the article, "Campeche Days: After the Snapper from Pensacola," by Fred Hunt, from the *American Neptune.* It sells for $2.00.

Andrew Jackson and Pensacola is volume two in the Pensa-

cola Bicentennial Series. Edited by James R. McGovern, it includes articles by Frank L. Owsley, Jr., E. W. Carswell, William S. Coker, Pat Dodson, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., and James A. Servies. The price is $5.00; paperback, $2.50. Order from the *Pensacola News-Journal.*

Pensacola in Pictures and Prints, by Norman Simons and James R. McGovern, is volume four in the Pensacola Bicentennial Series. Etchings, lithographs, pictures, photographs, and maps record Pensacola's history from its beginnings as a Spanish colony at the close of the seventeenth century to the community in 1975 with its industrial development and its major interest in historical reconstruction and preservation. The authors are knowledgeable about the historical development of Pensacola, and they have utilized the many archival resources of the community and state in accumulating their material. The price for the book is $9.00 hardback; $7.50 paperback. It is available from the *Pensacola News-Journal.*

The cemetery records of West Volusia County, Florida, compiled by Daphne Brownell, a longtime resident of Florida and the county, have been published in three volumes by the Kellersberger Fund, South Brevard Historical Society, Melbourne, Florida. Volume one includes a history of the Oakdale Cemetery of DeLand, 1882-1971, an index to the cemetery, and a listing of cemetery inscriptions and funeral markers. Volumes two and three contain similar information for twenty-six small cemeteries in the area covering the years 1867-1973. Each volume is indexed, and each sells for $5.00, plus fifty cents shipping. The three-volume set costs $13.00 and $1.00 shipping. They may be ordered from the South Brevard Historical Society, Box 5847, Melbourne 32901.

Them Good Ole Days is by Ed Smith, a resident of the Jacksonville Beach area since 1926. His memories of the beaches, Mayport, and Fort George Island, include storms and hurricanes, shipwrecks, hunting and fishing, the Depression years, and the growth since World War II. The book may be ordered from the author, Box 878, Neptune Beach, Florida 32233, at $6.21 a copy.

Florida Sketches, by Hampton Dunn, consists of seventy-five vignettes of Florida buildings, bridges, forts, historic sites, monuments, steamboats, and churches. Each sketch is accompanied by an illustration. Published by E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., Miami, the book sells for $6.95.

The Gators, A Story of Florida Football, by Tom McEwen, is the seventy-three year history of the Florida Gators and the University of Florida Athletic Association. Published by Strode Publishers, Huntsville, Alabama 35802, the book sells for $7.95. A complementary volume is *FSU One Time!, A History of Seminole Football,* by James T. Jones. It is the history of the Florida State University Seminole team. It sells for $12.00, and was published by Sentry Press, P.O. Box 2235, Tallahassee, Florida 32304.

Metropolitan Broward: A Demographic Overview, by William W. Jenna, Jr., was published by the University of Miami Press in cooperation with the Center for Urban and Regional Studies. It describes this South Florida area as it has changed from an agricultural-tourist economy to a residential-financial-commercial community. It offers a variety of data on natural resources, population, land use, and the economic bases of the Broward community. The price is $25.00.

Lightning in the Sun is a history of the Florida Power Corporation from 1899 to 1974. The author is Al Parsons. It was published by the Company, 3201 Thirty-fourth Street South, St. Petersburg, 33733.

America's First Family: The Savages of Virginia, by August Burghard, is the story of Ensign Thomas Savage, perhaps the earliest Englishman to have left a traceable line of descendants in the United States, including several in Florida. The Melvin R. Young family of Fort Lauderdale traces its origin to this thirteen-year-old cabin boy who arrived in America aboard the *John and Francis* on January 8, 1608. The book sells for $4.00, and may be ordered from Dorrance and Company, 1617 J. F. Kennedy Boulevard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103.

The 1779 "Marcha de Gálvez": Louisiana's Giant Step For-

ward in the American Revolution, is a monograph by Jack D. L. Holmes, published by the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Bicentennial Corporation. This episode in the life of Gálvez is important to Florida history since he beseiged and captured Pensacola in 1781 during the American Revolution. There are several color illustrations of the uniforms worn by the troops drawn by Francisco Ferrer-Llull. The pamphlet is available from the Baton Rouge Bicentennial Corporation, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

Open house at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, a tour of the historic homes and sites of Gainesville, receptions at the houses of Mrs. Chris Matheson and Dr. and Mrs. Mark V. Barrow, Florida history movies, and an evening reception and tour of the Florida State Museum are some of the highlights of the seventy-third annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Gainesville, May 9-10, 1975. The Flagler Inn, corner of University Aevnue and Northwest Thirteenth Street, has been selected as convention headquarters. Professors J. Leitch Wright, Florida State University, and George E. Buker, Jacksonville University, are program chairpersons. Dr. Merlin G. Cox, University of Florida, is in charge of local arrangements, and his committee represents all of the organizations which are acting as hosts for the meeting. They include the Alachua County Historical Society, Alachua County Historical Commission, the Departments of History and Social Sciences, University of Florida, the Florida State Museum, the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, and Historic Gainesville, Inc.

"Colonial Florida" is the title for the Friday morning session with Dr. Michael V. Gannon, University of Florida, as chairperson. Jose B. Fernandez, University of Colorado; Eugene Lyon; and R. Duncan Mathewson will read papers. Carl Clausen, Texas State Historical Survey Committee, will serve as commentator. "Florida Development, Growth, and Ecology" will be discussed at the Friday afternoon session. Edward N. Akin, University of Florida; Thomas Graham, Flagler College; and Kenneth Relyea, Jacksonville University, will read papers. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida, will be the commentator. Dena Snodgrass of Jacksonville will serve as chairperson for this session. "Troubled Times in Florida" will be the title for the Saturday morning session. William Bevis, a member of the Florida Public Service Commission is chairperson. Calvin Smith, University of South Carolina at Aiken, and Donorena Harris, Florida State

University, will read papers. Dr. S. Walker Blanton, Jacksonville University, is the commentator.

American Association for State and Local History Awards will be presented at the Saturday luncheon to Anthony P. Pizzo of Tampa, Pat Dodson of Pensacola, and the Executive Board of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conferences which are held annually in Pensacola. These awards are given for significant contributions to the understanding and development of state and local history. The winners of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for 1974-1975, the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for 1974, and the Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award for 1974 will be announced at the banquet Saturday. The speaker for the banquet is Dr. A. R. Mortensen, director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, and the title of his talk is "Historic Preservation: Florida and the Nation." On Friday evening, May 9, there will be an open house and tour of the Florida State Museum conducted by Vincent J. Gabianelli, Curator of Interpretations and Chairman of the Museum's Department of Interpretation. Historic Gainesville, Inc., will be hosts at a reception at the Museum. There will be a tour of the Hotel Thomas and the historic houses of Gainesville by the Alachua County Historical Society on Saturday afternoon, with receptions at the Matheson and Barrow homes. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History has arranged special exhibits, and the library will be open from eight until five on Thursday and Friday. Sunday afternoon, May 11, the Alachua County Historical Society is offering a field trip to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings's home at Cross Creek for all those interested.

The Board of Directors will hold its meeting on Thursday evening at the Flagler Inn. The business luncheon Saturday will be convened by Milton Jones, president of the Society, and it will include an election of officers and annual reports.

There will be a registration table at the Flagler Inn on Thursday afternoon beginning at 4:00 p.m. and again Friday morning at 9:00 a.m. All program sessions will be in the Convention Hall of the Flagler Inn, and the meetings are open to the general public.

Florida Confederation of Historical Societies

The Confederation will hold a meeting and workshop in Gainesville at the Flagler Inn on Thursday, May 8, 1975, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. Registration will be from 9:00 to 10:00 a.m. There will be two sessions– one in the morning from 10:00 until noon and another from 1:30 to 3:30 p.m. William Goza of Clearwater will preside over the morning session and Dr. Thelma Peters will chair the afternoon meeting. The luncheon will be at the Flagler Inn at noon. Don Pride, Executive Director of the Florida Bicentennial Commission, will speak. Other speakers will cover subjects of interest to all Confederation members, including oral history projects, microfilming, care of old photographs, publishing newsletters, and other activities.

The Florida History Newsletter

The first number of *The Florida History Newsletter* was published in February 1975. Dr. Thomas D. Greenhaw, Florida Technological University, Orlando, is editor. The *Newsletter* will be published twice yearly, in February and August, by the Florida Historical Society. It will be mailed to all members of the Society and all member organizations of the Florida Confederation of Historical Societies. It will carry news of interest to Florida historians, including the activities of local, county, and area historical societies, historical museums, and historical agencies. Information about programs, activities, publications, and officers should be sent to: The Florida History Newsletter, Florida Technological University, P. O. Box 26547, Orlando, Florida 32816. Please send organizational newsletters to Dr. Greenhaw. The *Newsletter* is sponsored by the Florida Historical Society.

National Register of Historic Places

The Historic Preservation Office, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Florida Department of State, announces that the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, added the following Florida sites to the National Register of Historic Places during 1974: The Pierce site and Cape St. George Light in Franklin County; Buckman

Hall (University of Florida) and the Newnansville town site in Alachua County; Fort Pierce site in St. Lucie County; Little White House, Quarters A (Key West) in Monroe County; House of Refuge (Stuart) in Martin County; All Saints Episcopal Church (Enterprise) in Volusia County; Brelsford House (Palm Beach) in Palm Beach County; St. Michael's Creole Benevolent Hall, Old Christ Church, Pensacola Lighthouse and Keeper's Quarters, the Dorr House, and the site of Fort George in Escambia County; Pisgah Methodist Church, Union Bank, and the First Presbyterian Church of Tallahassee in Leon County; Pender's Store (Greenwood) and the Irwin House in Jackson County; Hervey Allen's Study ("The Glade Estates," South Miami), Gesu Church (Miami), Plymouth Congregational Church of Coconut Grove, Coral Gables City Hall, El Jardin of Coconut Grove, and the Miami Women's Club in Dade County; the Union Railroad Station, Federal Building-U.S. Courthouse, the Johnson-Wolff House, Centro Asturiano, the Old School House, El Centrol Espanol of West Tampa, Chapin House, Levick House, Ybor City Historic District, Stovall House, Leiman House, 1415 North Franklin Street, and the Ruskin Women's Club in Hillsborough County; Smallwood Store (Chokoloskee Island vicinity) and the Seaboard Coastline Railroad Depot (Naples) in Collier County; Quincy Library and the A. D. Lester House in Gadsden County; O'Reilly House in St. Johns County; Safford House (Tarpon Springs) in Pinellas County; Lloyd Depot and the site of the Spanish Mission, "San Minuel de Asile," in Jefferson County; the Mote-Morris House and Holy Trinity Episcopal Church in Lake County; and the Old Bradford County Courthouse (Starke).

Florida Anthropological Society

The Florida Anthropological Society held its twenty-seventh annual meeting in Ocala, February 15, 1975. The morning session on Florida archeology included papers by Ben I. Waller, James Dunbar, William J. Webster, James D. Knight, Ripley P. Bullen, George W. Percy, and Mary K. Jones. The afternoon session dealt with methods of excavation, analysis, and interpretation. Presenting papers were Barbara A. Purdy, Stephen L. Cumbaa, Ellen Murphree, R. Christopher Goodwin, Kathleen M. Byrd, K. F. Johnson, Bert Mowers, and John N. Henderson.

Wilma M. Williams and Adelaide K. Bullen were the chairpersons for these sessions. Dr. William R. Maples, Chairman, Department of Social Sciences, Florida State Museum, was the speaker at the banquet. His illustrated talk was entitled, "What Bones and Bodies Can Tell Us."

New officers elected at this meeting include: President, Benjamin I. Waller; First Vice President, Wilma B. Williams; Second Vice President, Raymond Williams; Secretary, Wilbur Cockrell; Treasurer, Jerald T. Milanich; and Editor-Resident Agent, Ripley P. Bullen. Directors are Raymond Robinson, J. Anthony Paredes, and Wesley Coleman.

Activities and Events

The fourth in a series of American Revolution Bicentennial Symposia sponsored by the Library of Congress will be held May 8 and 9 in Washington, D.C. The theme is "The Impact of the American Revolution Abroad." The countries and governments to be discussed are France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, the Russian empire, Spain, Portugal, and Ireland. Scholars from these nations have been invited. Persons wishing to attend the program should write for registration information to the American Revolution Bicentennial Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

The sixth annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held in Pensacola, October 2-3, 1975. The theme of the Conference will be "The Cultural Legacy of the Gulf Coast, 1870-1940." For further information, write Dr. Lucius F. Ellsworth, Chairman, Faculty of History, The University of West Florida, Pensacola, Florida 32504.

Mrs. Charles Gibson is making available at a reduced price to all public schools of Florida her book, *Pioneering in Hillsborough County, Florida.* The price for the paperback is $1.25. For information, write Mrs. Gibson, P.O. Box 2250, Daytona Beach, Florida 32150.

Mrs. Dorothy A. Ellefson of IngIis was the 1975 winner of the Mary MacRae History Award presented by the Central Florida Community College in Ocala. The title of her essay was "Port

Inglis and Inglis: A Historical Sketch and Projection." It is available in the Central Florida Community College Library. The award honors the late Mrs. Mary MacRae of Homosassa, a former director of the Florida Historical Society.

"Views of Florida by American Masters," a major collection of Florida art, is on exhibit March 8-April 13, 1975, at the Society of the Four Arts, Palm Beach, Florida. It will then be moved to the Museum of Fine Art, St. Petersburg, Florida, for the period May 6-June 2, 1975. It features the works of Martin Johnson Heade (1819-1904), one of America's foremost landscape artists, and Winslow Homer (1836-1910), considered the greatest painter of the coast and sea. There are representative works of John James Audubon, George Catlin, C. G. Dana, Seth Eastman, George Inness, John Singer Sargent, Doris Lee, and Andrew Wyeth. In addition to many private collectors, the oils, water colors, sketches, and lithographs have been loaned by the Art Institute of Chicago, Cummer Gallery of Jacksonville, Henry Morrison Flagler Museum, Fogg Museum of Art, High Museum of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Peabody Museum, Philadelphia Museum of Arts, and the St. Louis Art Museum.

South Florida Pioneers is a new quarterly journal being edited and published by Richard M. Livingston of Fort Ogden, Florida. Its purpose is to present historical and genealogical information about early settlers of South Florida. Each issue sells for $1.50; a one-year subscription is $6.00. For information, contact Mr. Livingston, P.O. Box 166, Fort Ogden, Florida 33842.

The Orange County Bicentennial Committee in cooperation with the John Young Museum and Planetarium and the Orange County Historical Commission are sponsoring the publication of a book of memorabilia to be entitled *More Than A Memory*. It will include material for the 100-year period, 1875-1975. For information, write Orlando Mayor Carl T. Langford.

The Florida College Teachers of History held its annual meeting, April 4-5, 1975, in Daytona Beach. Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach Community College, and Embry-Riddle

Aeronautical University were host institutions. Of interest to Florida historians was the paper, "Florida Gubernatorial Politics Since the Brown Decision in 1954," by Professors David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher of the University of Florida. Professor Richard A. Bartlett, Florida State University, is president of the association; William L. Dunn, Bethune-Cookman College, is vice-president; and Claude Sturgill, University of Florida, is secretary-treasurer.

The Atlanta Regional Archives, administered by the National Archives and Records Service, GSA, has received the first 312 rolls of 1900 census microfilm. Florida is one of the states covered in this material. The film is open for research, but it is not available on interlibrary loan. It may be examined only in the reference room of the Federal Archives and Records Center, East Point, Georgia,. Researchers must make application to use the film. For information, write the Center, 1557 St. Joseph Avenue, East Point, Georgia 30344, or call, 404-526-7477.

Florida Manuscript Acquisitions and Accessions

The following paragraphs list recent manuscript acquisitions and accessions as reported by Florida's university, college, and public libraries. Those interested in using particular collections should correspond with the library or institution in question.

The Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, has acquired the diaries of Ellis Hughes (1838-1839), a two-volume journal of a medical officer who served in the Second Seminole War; the papers of Terrell Sessums relative to his term as speaker of the Florida House of Representatives; a collection of eighteen documents relating to a plantation in British East. Florida (1770-1790); and a letter to President James Madison from Richard Forrest, August 6, 1810, suggesting that the latter visit Florida in order to ascertain public sentiment towards the United States.

The Florida State University Library's Special Collections obtained during the past year the papers of Doak Campbell (1935-1972), former president of the University, consisting of

4,910 items; the papers of Richard W. Ervin (1947-1974), former attorney general of Florida, including seven cartons of material yet to be inventoried.

Jacksonville Public Library's Florida Collection has added the papers of Mrs. Charles Gobert (1809-1866), and the papers of Mrs. Frank E. Jennings (1884-1937).

The Pensacola Historical Society's acquisitions include the papers of the Foster, Cooper, Saltmarsh and Thompson families.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida added the following to its collections in 1974: materials on the H. B. Plant Investment Company, 1888; a letter from Duncan Lamont Clinch to D. M. Dorman, February 23, 1842, pertaining to Indian boundaries; and *legajos* (on microfilm) 3A, 3B, 222A, 222B, Papeles de Cuba, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, consisting of some 3,000 documents and letters.

The St. Augustine Historical Society received miscellaneous papers of the City of St. Augustine (1816-1929); part of a journal of a cruise in the private ship of war *Queen Charlotte*, 1779, James Hanrick, commander; and a Xerox copy of a letter written by Union army Captain B. Mason of Kingston, New Hampshire, dated April 24, 1863, St. Augustine.

The University of West Florida's John C. Pace Library received the following manuscripts in 1974: Cora Mallory Papers (granddaughter of Stephen R. Mallory); Alger-Sullivan Lumber Company Papers (Century, Florida, 1900-1955); W. A. Ray Hardware Company Papers (1909-1929); McKenzie Oerting & Co. account books and ledgers (1912-1921); papers of Pensacola realtor Henry W. Sanborn (1918-1962); scrapbooks and correspondence of the Pensacola Branch, American Association of University Women (1926-1972); Pensacola Symphony Orchestra Papers (1954-1974); papers of Florida state representative John Robert Middlemas (1965-1970).

Notes

Marian Godown of Fort Myers and co-author of the recent book, *Yesterday's Fort Myers*, writes two columns for the Fort Myers *News-Press* — the "Passing Scene" and "Here's Florida." She is interested in photographs and other information about Southwest Florida. Mrs. Godown may be reached through the Southwest Florida Historical Society, P.O. Box 1362, Fort Myers, Florida 33902.

The History News section of the July 1974 issue of the *Quarterly* did not correctly note that Ralph D. Reed is director and historian for the Pinellas County Historical Commission and the Pinellas Historical Museum. Anyone seeking information on the Museum or the Commission should contact Mr. Reed at the Old Courthouse, Clearwater, Florida 33516.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING

Florida Historical Society

The semi-annual meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 9:45 a.m. in the Society's Library, University of South Florida, Tampa, December 7, 1974, by Milton D. Jones, president. Officers and directors attending included Thelma Peters, Alva Jones, Jay B. Dobkin, Jerrell H. Shofner, Samuel Proctor, George E. Buker, Lewis H. Cresse, Jr., Addie Emerson, William M. Goza, Marty Grafton, John W. Griffin, James R. Knott, John K. Mahon, Jessie Porter Newton, Randy Nimnicht, Sister Eileen Rice, and Norman Simons. Mrs. Margaret Burgess was also present. Mr. Jones welcomed Messrs. Buker, Cresse, and Nimnicht as new members of the board, and noted that Mr. Goza and Dr. Mahon had served previously as directors and were returning to duty.

The minutes of the May 1974 board meeting as published in the October 1974 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* were approved as published. A summary of the minutes of the executive committee meeting held in October 1974 in St. Augustine was attached to the agenda for the meeting.

Dr. Peters reported on the first meeting and workshop of the Florida Confederation of Historical Societies held in Tampa, December 5-6, 1974. Thirty-eight organizations had been represented with seventy-five persons attending the luncheon. These included representatives from local and county historical societies and commissions, museums, and local, county, and state government agencies. The program was well organized and received, particularly the session by Mr. Dobkin and Paul Camp on document and map preservation. A second workshop is planned for May 8, 1975, in Gainesville at the time of the annual meeting of the Society. Mr. Jones thanked Dr. Peters and her committee— Mr. Nimnicht and Dr. Tebeau— for organizing the workshop.

Mr. Dobkin, in reporting the finances of the Society, noted there was no indebtedness and no decline in income. He reported the following balances:

Checking account	$ 6,662.81
Savings account	17,963.34
University of South Florida account	4.91
Arthur W. Thompson Fund	2,917.50
Father Jerome Fund	3,591.51
Charlton W. Tebeau Fund	2,119.63
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund	16,167.59
Stock Portfolio	436.00
Total	49,863.29

Mr. Dobkin called attention to the income received from sale of back issues of the *Quarterly*. The *Quarterly* inventory is not carried on the financial statement. The sale of the Volusia County real estate increased capital reserves by $380. The question of purchasing certificates of deposit was discussed, but it was decided that it was easier and safer to leave the money in a savings account. Mr. Dobkin thanked his staff for their help in getting out the Confederation mailing.

Mr. Jones noted that Mrs. Olive Peterson had been named chairperson of the Confederation Executive Committee, and that dues for each organization member has been set at $10.00 a year. Whether the Confederation will share expenses for the newsletter will be decided at a later date. Judge Knott moved that the financial report be approved, and his motion passed. The two small pieces of property owned by the Society in Volusia County have been sold. Dr. John E. Johns had obtained an appraisal which revealed that the lots were valued at $500, and they were sold for this amount.

Mr. Dobkin reported that the cataloguing of the Society's Library, including maps and manuscripts, is proceeding, and that a complete shelf list is being prepared. Mr. Goza asked that receipts be obtained for the Society's artifacts which are out on loan. Mr. Dobkin asked that board members advise him of the location of any of these artifacts belonging to the Society. He also noted that the new special collections library facilities will have space to display artifacts. Dr. Peters will transfer her files on this matter to Mr. Dobkin. A list of all gifts to the Society as reported over the years in the *Quarterly* will be compiled. Mr. Dobkin announced that it will be possible to publish in the near future a manuscript list of all Florida Historical Society holdings.

Dr. Proctor noted that some of the records and correspondence of the Florida Historical Society are catalogued in the Julien C. Yonge Papers in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida. Mr. Dobkin displayed a small publication done by one of his students which can be reproduced for about $20.00 and distributed as a souvenir at the annual meeting or as a gift to new members. Dr. Proctor reported that the state Division of Archives, History and Records Management is compiling a catalog of Florida manuscript holdings. Mr. Goza said he would check on the status of the Florida collection at St. Leo's College. Mr. Dobkin reported the gift of a large number of back issues of the *Quarterly* from Mrs. Walter Fuller of St. Petersburg. Books continue to be received from the University Presses of Florida and E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc.

Dr. Proctor reported on the continuing progress of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The format of the History News section will be changed with the inauguration of the *Florida History Newsletter*. Because of the increasing availability of well-written and well-documented materials on all aspects of Florida history, the size of the journal is larger. It also contains more illustrative material, mainly as a result of annual grants from the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., through Mr. Goza. Dr. Proctor announced that he will make the editorial board a revolving board, beginning in 1976, since many qualified persons are assisting by reading and evaluating articles. He recommended an increase in editor's expense from $500 to $780 to cover increased telephone and postage expenses. Judge Knott moved that this be approved, and his motion passed.

Dr. Proctor stated that the Panton-Leslie-Forbes project is moving along well under the editorial direction of Dr. William Coker of the University of West Florida. Volume one is scheduled to go to press in the fall of 1975. With support now from the National Historical Publications Commission, this project is recognized as making a major contribution to scholarship. The Society is a member of the Consortium supporting this program.

Mr. Griffin announced the Conference on American Loyalists during the American Revolution to be held in St. Augustine, February 6-8, 1975. The Florida Historical Society is a cosponsor of this national meeting.

Dr. Shofner reported that the work of compiling a cumulative index to volumes XXXVII through LIII of the *Quarterly* is proceeding. A contract has been signed with Dr. Karen Lee Singh of Tallahassee as compiler, and it is expected that a manuscript will be completed by June 1975. Dr. Singh will receive $4,000 for her work, and expenses are estimated at $500. A grant of $3,513 for this project has been received from the Florida Bicentennial Commission. Dr. Shofner estimates that the printing will cost approximately $9,000. The Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund will be used to underwrite the expense of this volume. It was recommended that 3,000 copies of the index be published.

Dr. Shofner announced that Dr. Tom Greenhaw of the Department of History, Florida Technological University, will be editor of the *Florida History Newsletter.* This publication will cost approximately $400 an issue. It will be mailed to members of the Confederation and the Florida Historical Society. Dr. Shofner invited al1 local historical organizations to send information about their activities to Dr. Greenhaw. The first issue is scheduled for February or March 1975.

The plan for a catalogue of Florida manuscript holdings was outlined by Mr. Dobkin. All representatives to the Confederation workshop have received data on this program including a form to report manuscript holdings of their organization. It was noted that other agencies in Florida, including the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, are interested in working on such a catalogue. Mr. Nimnicht suggested a statewide effort so that activities would not be duplicated. Mr. Dobkin referred to the Inter-Institutional Committee on Libraries as a possible coordinating group. Mr. Goza noted that the forms sent to local historical groups would tend to flush out heretofore unknown holdings, and this would itself be a great service.

The Florida Historical Society handbook was discussed. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., has agreed to write a short history of the Society for this publication. Mr. Jones will investigate private funding to underwrite the cost, about $2,000, for this book. Mr. Jones suggested a format similar to the *Quarterly.* Sister Eileen Rice moved that this project be approved with the understanding that no Society funds be expended for its implementation. This was approved.

Messrs. Griffin and Goza were appointed as a committee to look into the Carriage House project in St. Augustine as proposed by Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Million. Mr. Griffin feels that another house museum would not be practical in that community, but he agreed that his staff could act in an advisory capacity in restoration if these properties are owned by the Society. Mr. Griffin pointed out the historical value of the houses. Mr. Jones has conferred with Mr. Million, and he has asked for sufficient time to allow the Society to explore all aspects of this generous offer. Mr. Goza moved that the board go on record as receiving with interest the proposal of Mr. and Mrs. Million and authorize the committee appointed by Mr. Jones to explore the matter with no action being taken until the full board has been consulted. The motion was seconded and approved.

The matter of membership was discussed. Dr. Mahon, chairman of the membership committee, reported he is pushing membership with local societies. He passed out the new renewal-of-membership forms. He emphasized, again, the need for a promotional pamphlet. A discussion was held on the type of promotional material needed. Mr. Jones emphasized the need for a practical, workable membership program by the time of the next annual meeting. Mr. Griffin suggested spot television announcements. Another source of potential members for the Society are the member organizations of the Confederation. Dr. Proctor sugegsted inviting members of the legislature to become members. Mrs. Grafton volunteered to help design a promotion booklet, and Mr. Jones appointed her and Mr. Nimnicht to a committee to prepare such material. The Executive Committee was authorized to approve funds for this work.

Dr. Buker reported on the program for the annual meeting. Mr. Jones read the report from Dr. Merlin Cox who is in charge of local arrangements for the meeting in Gainesville, May 9-10, 1975.

Judge Knott noted that the State Board of Health at Jacksonville had some of the papers associated with Dr. Porter, the founder of the Board of Health. Mr. Jones appointed Judge Knott and Mrs. Newton as a committee to look into the matter to determine if these materials were being taken care of.

Mr. Jones noted that Judge Knott had received the D. B. McKay Award from the Tampa Historical Society for his untir-

ing work in having the name of Cape Canaveral restored. He offered a resolution of thanks to Judge Knott for this effort, which was unanimously approved.

Mr. Jones thanked everyone for attending, and the meeting was adjourned at 12:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
ALVA L. JONES
Recording Secretary

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .
1975

April 16-19	Organization of American Historians	Boston
May 9-10	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 73rd ANNUAL MEETING	Gainesville
September 16-19	American Association for State and Local History	Mackinac Island
October 2-3	Sixth Annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola
October 23-26	Oral History Association	Asheville, North Carolina
November 8	American Society for Ethno-History	Gainesville
November 12-15	Southern Historical Association Annual Meeting	Washington, D.C.

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $10; a fellow membership is $20. Special memberships of $50, $75, and $150 are also available. In addition, a life membership is $350, and a special memorial membership is available for $350. The latter guarantees delivery of the Quarterly for twenty-five years to a library or other institution.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Dobkin.

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