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Cover Illustration: Maj. Gen. Andrew A. Humphreys during the Civil War, 1863. Published by E.& H. T. Anthony from photographic negative in Brady's National Portrait Gallery. Image courtesy of the Office of History Collection, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

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"The Ruthless Hand of War": Andrew A. Humphreys in the Second Seminole War

By Matthew T. Pearcy

In late February 1836, 2d Lt. Andrew A. Humphreys (1810-1883) reported for duty at Fort Drane in the remote interior of the Florida peninsula. Green and untried, the young West Pointer chronicled his first experiences at war in a leather bound journal tucked away among his personal possessions. "I delight in extremes," he wrote in its opening pages, "and certainly my profession leads to them – from the center of civilization to the wildest forests, I am transferred in a few days. In January luxuriating in the delights of our capital, in February suffering from hunger, thirst and fatigue in the hammocks of Florida."[1] Given his previous deployments with the Second Artillery Regiment at Fort Marion near St. Augustine (1833-34) and the topographical engineers in West Florida (1834-35), Humphreys anticipated better than most the physical hardships associated with active service in the region. Still, the summer of 1836 was uncommonly sickly, and, coupled with marauding Indians and searing subtropical heat, the war nearly broke Humphreys, shattering his health as well as any illusions of battlefield glory.[2]

Matt Pearcy is a historian in the Office of History, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and is currently working on a full biography of Andrew A. Humphreys. He would like to thank his colleagues and, especially, the chief of the Office of History, Dr. Paul K. Walker, for supporting the project.

1. Andrew A. Humphreys Journal, April 12, 1836, Andrew A. Humphreys Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (document hereafter cited as Humphreys Journal).
2. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point*, vol. I (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1891), 476-481; *American National Biography*, s.v. "Humphreys, Andrew Atkinson."

Humphreys' return to East Florida followed a bloody show of force by Seminole Indians determined to fight relocation. The Seminoles were an amalgam of Indian bands from the Creek Confederation mixed with fugitive African American slaves who fled the river valleys of Alabama and Georgia for the relative sanctuary of Spanish Florida. The two groups united there over several generations in a fierce desire for independence and a common goal of resisting intrusions into their new homeland. The proximity of armed runaways and potentially hostile Indians left southern slaveholders justifiably fearful, and they lobbied for federal intervention, eventually precipitating General Andrew Jackson's invasion of Florida and the First Seminole War (1817-1818). That conflict had occasioned the overthrow of Spanish authority in the region, opened much of the peninsula to a rush of slaveholding planters, and contributed to Jackson's surging national reputation. A decade later as president, Jackson moved to banish all southeastern tribes to reservations in the West. In Florida, his administration's clumsy efforts at diplomacy led to a series of unfortunate agreements culminating in the treaties of Payne's Landing (1832) and Fort Gibson (1833). Though repudiated by most Seminoles, these treaties created a legal framework for the application of Jackson's policy and gave new vigor to the impetus for removal.[3]

The Seminoles responded by rallying behind a new and potentially dangerous war leader, a mixed-blood known as Osceola or also Billy Powell.[4] Bold and defiant, he declared himself violently opposed to emigration and exhorted others to resist as well. Slowly his view prevailed. Tensions escalated in the summer of 1835 when Osceola clashed openly with Indian Agent Wiley Thompson who was appointed to superintend the deportation. The former Jacksonian Congressman responded by briefly jailing the war leader – an act of unparalleled humiliation for an

3. The best general history of the Second Seminole War is John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War: Revised Edition* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1985). Other useful general accounts include John Missall and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004); and Joe Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars: 1817-1858* (Chicago, IL: Arcadia Publishing, 2003).

4. The contemporary white community often referred to Osceola as "Billy Powell," believing him to be the only child of an Englishman, William Powell, and his second Indian wife, Polly Copinger, though little or no corroborating evidence survives. See Patricia R. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1991), xx.

"Osceola, the Black Drink, A Warrior of Great Distinction" Oil Painting by George Catlin (1796-1872), 1838 *Smithsonian American Art Museum.*

Indian. Violence soon followed. The most serious Indian depredations began around Christmastime in the sugar-growing district east of St. Johns River and south of St. Augustine, where Seminoles terrorized settlers, razed valuable plantations, and facilitated the escape of plantation slaves. The army, stretched thinly across East Florida, moved to reinforce its most vulnerable posts at Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay and Fort King in the central peninsula. That move came too late.

Rising hostilities spilled over into war on December 28, 1835, when Osceola and sixty warriors surprised and killed Thompson near Fort King as he was enjoying an after-dinner stroll outside the palisade. A companion was cut down as well. In a coordinated action fifty miles away along the old Fort King Road, Seminole war leaders Micanopy, Jumper, Alligator, and a large party of warriors waylaid a slowly moving column of 108 regulars led by Brevet Major Francis L. Dade, then four days out on its march from Fort Brooke to Fort King and deep in Indian territory. As the advance guard approached, a single crack from Micanopy's rifle broke the shuffling silence. Dade fell dead from his horse. An instant later, 180 Seminole warriors fired into the left flank of the command, killing half in the first volley. The remnant retreated and hastily erected a log breastwork some two hundred yards from the

ambush site. Exposed to heavy, sustained rifle fire, the defenders dropped in ones and twos, many shot in the head or neck. A dozen or so held out until late in the afternoon, but before sundown the Indians, wielding tomahawks and clubs, rushed the crude breastwork and swept the field. Among the dead were five West Pointers including 2d Lt. William E. Basinger, shot down after offering his sword in surrender. Two of Dade's men, both severely injured, stumbled and crawled the nearly sixty miles back to Fort Brooke, arriving in woeful condition. Back on the battlefield, the remains of the soldiers lay untended for eight weeks.[5]

Meanwhile, the army prepared for an aggressive campaign of its own. Brevet Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch, a veteran of the First Seminole War and overall U.S. commander in Florida, amassed a force of several hundred regulars on his 3,000-acre sugar plantation, "Auld Lang Syne," situated twenty miles northwest of Fort King. To protect his homestead, Clinch ordered Captain Gustavus S. Drane of the Second Artillery to oversee the construction of a picket work on the northwest corner of the plantation. It was to be twelve feet high, enclosing the main buildings in an area 150 yards long and 80 yards wide. The soldiers added a blockhouse at the east end and mounted a single cannon. Dubbed "Fort Drane," the unlucky post became the primary base of operations against the Seminoles in the spring and early summer of 1836.[6]

With ambitious plans to drive through hostile territory and end the conflict, Clinch summoned the Florida militia and began preparing for operations against Seminole strongholds in the shadowy Cove of the Withlacoochee. Located thirty-five miles south of Fort Drane and adjacent to the Withlacoochee River, the Cove was a trackless expanse of swamps and dense hammocks – a nearly impenetrable natural fortress. Richard Keith Call, soon-to-be governor of Florida and a longtime Jackson loyalist and personal friend, answered the summons, arriving with 560 mounted territorial volunteers on Christmas Eve. Unfortunately for Clinch, the volunteers were slow in arriving and had but one week remain-

5. For additional information on the ill-fated Dade command, see the superb study by Frank Laumer, *Dade's Last Command* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995).

6. Rembert W. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1963), 61, 174.

ing on a four week enlistment, demonstrating for the uninitiated that militiamen "spend most of the time getting ready to start and then in preparing to quit."[7] The beleaguered commander set out from Fort Drane on December 29 with 250 regulars and 500 volunteers, all as of yet ignorant of the disaster that befell Dade on the previous day. The brigade advanced slowly, held up by an excessive baggage train, and lost the element of surprise to an errant reveille call on the second morning out. The lead element reached the vicinity of the Cove later that day but missed the ford and, relying on a single battered Indian canoe, ferried troops across the deep and swiftly flowing waters of the Withlacoochee, fifty yards wide at that point on the river. The regulars went first, transported in groups of six to the far shore.

The Seminoles, well aware of the advance against them and anxious to protect their sanctuary, converged in force at the point of crossing and concealed themselves in a thick hammock on the opposite bank. In time, the whole force of regulars had crossed the river and, by means of a "sinuous path," marched into the Cove about 400 yards before coming to rest in a horse-shoe shaped clearing surrounded by a thick tangle of underbrush, vines, and live oaks intermingled with cypress. Almost the entire militia force remained on the other side with many refusing to cross, their enlistments within hours of expiring. While Call negotiated with his volunteers, Osceola and his band of 250 warriors forced the issue, opening up a punishing fire on the surprised regulars. As one historian noted, the "militia on the north shore might as well be home in bed," as the attack on the opposite bank would be won or lost with the men on hand.[8] Initially rattled, the regulars recovered their composure, formed into ranks, and, through successive bayonet charges, dispersed the Seminoles and saved the command. The regulars avoided annihilation but were badly mauled, with four dead and fifty-nine wounded. Shortly after the battle, they re-crossed the river and limped back to Fort Drane. The Battle of the Withlacoochee, fought to a draw, left both sides badly disabused of their unrealistic notions of a quick war while feeding a growing hostility between Army regulars and the militia troops.

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7. Eben Swift, Jr., *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point, 1802-1902*, vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 535.
8. Laumer, "Encounter by the River," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (4), 322-339.

News reports of the recent battle found Humphreys on topographical duty in Washington, D.C., and the War Department directed him to rejoin his artillery regiment at Fort Drane where the army was assembling for a retaliatory campaign. President Jackson sent his most renowned commander, Brevet Major General Winfield Scott, to lead the operation, with Clinch relegated to a subordinate role. Scott's considerable reputation – well earned against hardened British troops in the War of 1812 – preceded him, and he had no intention of forfeiting it in Florida. His carefully considered strategy called for three grand columns, each well over a thousand strong, to converge simultaneously on the enemy stronghold at the Cove. The right wing would march south from Fort Drane under Clinch; the center wing would march north from Fort Brooke under Colonel William Lindsay; and the left wing would march west from St. Augustine under Brigadier General Abraham Eustis. Each wing would scour the regions through which it passed, driving before it or destroying any hostile Indians encountered. The final convergence of these columns would trap the Seminoles in their great Cove and force a decisive battle upon them. Scott's plan looked good on paper and might have worked against a conventional army in a more traditional setting. Against an adversary skilled in evasion and scattered throughout forty-seven thousand square miles of inhospitable terrain, success could hardly be assured.[9]

Humphreys sailed to Florida from New York City on February 14, 1836, in the company of 60 enlisted men and two fellow West Pointers, Lieutenants Benjamin Poole and Daniel S. Herring. Poole graduated from the academy a year ahead Humphreys and was a classmate of William Basinger of the much lamented Dade command. Herring was senior by five years and in command of the small detachment.[10] In a bustle of excitement, the three young officers set off for Florida with shared visions of grand adventure and military glory, but Humphreys alone survived the war; and he

9. The best biographies of Winfield Scott include John S. D. Eisenhower, *Agent of Destiny: The Life and Times of General Winfield Scott* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Timothy D. Johnson, *Winfield Scott: The Quest for Military Glory* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998); and Allan Peskin, *Winfield Scott and the Profession of Arms* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2003).

10. *Army and Navy Chronicle*, vol. II, from January 1 to June 30, 1836 (Washington, D.C.: Benjamin Homans, 1836), 64, 126.

enjoyed little of either during a six-month ordeal that would ultimately drive him from the army.

Once at Fort Drane, Humphreys assumed command of a Second Artillery company in Clinch's right wing and set out at the commencement of the operation for a three day march to the Withlacoochee, arriving, as he indicated in his journal, "without interruption on its banks." An attack was expected, but none came. Beginning early in the morning of March 29, the army crossed the river using "two flats, made at Camp Drane and fastened together after launching." It lost the entire day to it, and, again, no attack. That night, "the moon in its full and the air balmy and redolent of the perfume of the fresh budding wild flowers," a single rifle shot echoed through the dense foliage. "It was a signal," according to Humphreys, "and yells and shots quickly followed. Then answered the heavy report of the musquet and the loud bellows of artillery. Soon all again was quiet. Our rear guard had been attacked but no one injured." The following day, the column located an abandoned Indian village, "burnt it," and "in quick time followed a fresh trail leading from it towards and up the river. As we passed rapidly along, Indians were seen retreating at some distance and fired at." Evening set in, and the column "returned about a half mile into the pinewoods and camped."[11]

On March 31, Scott set out "in motion across the prairie" still seeking to close ranks with the fast retreating enemy. Again "pop – goes the signal rifle, rapidly followed by many others." Clinch's column had divided into two branches. The Seminoles fired upon the right, and Humphreys and the men of the left "crossed the prairie" to join in the engagement. "A few shots were fired at us as we formed – but a charge into the hammock left us no one to contend with." There were, in fact, very few Indians opposite the line. The advance guard of the right branch continued driving the Seminoles in a running fight until they crossed the river. "We had three or four killed and several wounded, the majority of them Louisiana volunteers. Marks of wounded or dead [Indian] men having been dragged off by the Seminoles were perceived." That brief but sharp encounter – the Battle of Oloklikaha – constituted Humphreys' first engagement with a hostile force, but the enemy had slipped away yet again.[12]

11. Humphreys Journal, April 12, 1836, 3-4.
12. Ibid., 4.

The following day, the column marched into the lower extremity of the Cove. Scott had heard nothing from the other two wings and, with his supplies running low, ordered his troops on to Fort Brooke at Tampa Bay. En route the column passed "a string of beautiful little lakes" sunk between "gently swelling hills" and dotted with miniature islands. "Noble oaks shaded their banks and the Indian towns stretched along their edge." Reflecting his own ambivalence at campaigning against a severely outnumbered enemy, Humphreys lamented that, "here the foot of the white had never before disturbed the fallen leaf. The Seminole lived quietly and content. The lake gave him fish, the forest deer, and the garden corn. With this and freedom, he was satisfied. It pained me to see the lonely spots desecrated by the ruthless hand of war." The army quit the lake country as it headed south and marched over newly burned pine barrens. "There was no air stirring. The sun was scorching and the coal dust and ashes rose up in clouds as we tramped along, filling our eyes and ears, nostrils and throats. There was no water for many miles and the dead silence that pervaded the column showed that the march was anything than pleasant." They reached Tampa Bay on April 6 and found General Eustis and his 1,200 South Carolinians there ahead of them. Humphreys was "inclined to think there was more surprise than pleasure manifested at his presence." Colonel Lindsay and his 1,000 Alabamians were in camp as well. Both wings had fought skirmishes with the Seminoles but nothing more. The campaign had failed.[13]

Despite the army's enormous investment in men and material, Scott's nearly 5,000 soldiers – the largest American military force called to war in a generation – fought not a single battle of consequence and killed fewer than 60 of the enemy while capturing none. By Scott's own reckoning, an estimated 1,200 Seminole warriors remained in Florida, now scattered about the inner peninsula in marauding bands of 60 to 200 men. Critics from all quarters assailed the general and his botched campaign, and Humphreys especially lamented the lost opportunity to strike a decisive blow against the natives. In the privacy of his journal, he wrote, "the Indians have made themselves quite merry at our slow marches...

13. Ibid., 5-6.

we travel like gophers.[14] The day we entered the Cove, all these fellows [Seminoles] could not have been but a few miles distant from us. And had we upon returning to camp, taken provisions for four or five days and then made a dash at them we should have captured their families and negroes, and then killed or taken them prisoner."[15]

In the wake of the failed campaign, circumstances were no longer favorable for active operations in Florida. April brought heavy showers and intense heat along with swarms of mosquitoes, sand flies, black fleas and other biting and disease-carrying insects. Malaria, yellow fever, mumps, and measles spread through the ranks, and the sick list at Fort Brooke ran into the hundreds. The army also lacked necessary supplies. "The Quartermaster and Commissary departments are in a miserable condition," wrote Humphreys on April 13. "There are but two depots of provisions and ammunition on hand – Tampa Bay and Picolata distant apart 160 or 170 miles. The wagons are few in number and old, weak, and rickety; the horses worn out; [and] the army in constant danger of starving."[16] The state militiamen delivered the *coup de grâce.* Their three month enlistments dated to January, and they wanted out. In absence of the volunteers who constituted a large majority of his army, Scott could count on fewer than 800 regulars in the trouble zone, too small a force to prosecute an aggressive campaign. Meanwhile, the Seminoles stood unbowed and defiant, and the concentration of the army at Fort Brooke left much of northern Florida unprotected. After a second and halfhearted attempt to locate the hiding places of the Indian women and children, Scott assigned weak regular attachments to summer quarters throughout the territory and made arrangements to begin discharging the volunteers. Afterwards, he accompanied General Eustis across the peninsula to Picolata and then St. Augustine where the senior general nursed a severe cold and a wounded ego.[17]

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14. Americans of this period called Florida terrapins (land turtles) "gophers," so Humphreys is more plausibly suggesting that the army marched at a turtle's pace. Jeff Guinn, *Our Land Before We Die: The Proud Story of the Seminole Negro* (New York: Putnam, 2002), 54.
15. Humphreys Journal, May 1, 1836, 10.
16. Ibid., April 13, 1836, 6.
17. Charles W. Elliott, *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1937), 306-307.

Humphreys accompanied Clinch and remnants of the right wing on the strenuous march back to Fort Drane, leaving Tampa Bay on April 14. All of the sick, "to the number of 80," were left in hospital at Fort Brooke. As Clinch later detailed in his official report of the campaign, the tattered brigade of 802 men proceeded slowly and in "shorter distances than before, in consequence of the increased heat of the weather, and the debilitated condition of the horses." It approached Fort Cooper on the western edge of the Cove after a four-day march and, following a brief altercation with Indians, emptied the garrison. Its contingent of Georgia militia had been "invested by the enemy from the 5th until the 17th [of] April." The column halted on the 18th "to give the horses a day's rest." After another week of stumbling through swamps and hammocks, the weary column arrived at the general's plantation on April 25, and none too soon. Fifteen horses and mules had died along the route, and "another day's march would have occasioned the abandoning a part of the train."[18] Conditions along the entire Alachua frontier had deteriorated substantially during the campaign. Isolated Indian attacks north and west of the fort – and even a daring but unsuccessful nighttime raid on Fort Drane itself a few days earlier – spread panic among the white populations of the territory. Overcome with anxiety and fear, they abandoned their homesteads at the slightest provocation and crowded pell-mell into military posts ill-equipped to maintain them. Their presence only added to the troubles at Auld Lang Syne.

Within days of arriving at the fort, General Clinch received an express from recently appointed Governor Call with news of an army blockhouse under siege on the Withlacoochee River. In late March, an adjutant of General Scott had ordered a party of Floridians under Captain John McLemore to erect a small fort on the river and to warehouse food and supplies there in support of the coordinated campaign. They did so at a location about twelve miles inland from the mouth. Unfortunately, subsequent operations bypassed the depot altogether, and, almost inconceivably, the garrison of forty Florida volunteers under Captain James M. K. Holloman was forgotten and left for many weeks to fend for itself deep in Indian territory. For this Humphreys placed much of the blame on Major Leigh Read, a flamboyant associate of the new governor. The

18. *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), May 31, 1836.

highly combative but popular Florida militiaman and his 300 volunteers had received orders upon leaving Tampa Bay in mid-April to ascend and reconnoiter a portion of the Withlacoochee River while returning to their post at St. Marks.[19] They did so sufficient only, Humphreys wrote, to discover "the flat boat of the block house party floating out, cut in two, apparently by an awkward hand, [and] saw large fires along the river – all indicating the presence of a strong body of Indians besieging the blockhouse." Though Major Read was "furnished with strong boats built for that service," he did not "venture to ascend the river – but left the little garrison to its fate and sailed with all dispatch to St. Marks." Earlier at Fort Brooke "this same Floridian militia man," full of bluster as Humphreys recalled in obvious irritation, "begged leave to send a challenge to Powell and all his followers to meet his three hundred Floridians! Oh, Bravo!"[20]

Rather than order Major Read and his volunteers back with strong reinforcements, Governor Call tasked the small contingent of regulars at Fort Drane, distant some 40 miles from the besieged blockhouse, to send a rescue party overland. Clinch gathered his officers in council and quickly ascertained that "we had not 300 marching men (regulars and volunteers) and that more than one/third of the effective force would probably be unfit for service before arriving at the Ouithlacoochee (as all [were] worn out by the excessive fatigue of the campaign) [and]... the horses were not fit to travel." The council resolved that "the relief must go from Sawanee Old Town[21]," which possessed an armed boat and an adequate number of volunteers. "Were we to go down with a small force nowhere fit to fight," Humphreys noted on April 29, "the whole Indian force would be upon us and a tragedy more horrid than Dade's would mark another spot upon the Ouithlacoochee." The issue went unsettled for several additional weeks as conditions within the blockhouse deteriorated and its half-starved denizens turned to lunching on their pack animals.[22]

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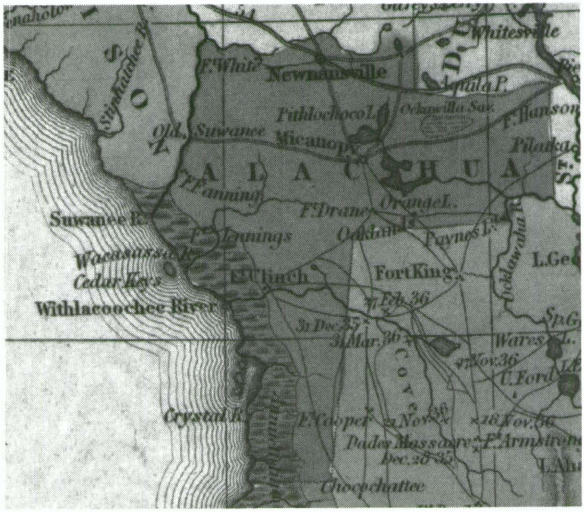
19. The orders to Read were issued on April 14, 1836. For more information on these orders and general background on the besieged blockhouse, see Tom Knotts, "History of the Blockhouse on the Withlacoochee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (3), 251-252; Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 159-160; John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1848), 151.
20. Humphreys Journal, April 29, 1836, 8.
21. Suwannee Old Town.
22. Humphreys Journal, April 29, 1836, 8-9.

In the full flush of his power, Osceola laid plans to destroy the weakened frontier forts of the Alachua region. But for a costly intelligence failure, he might have succeeded. In the pre-dawn hours of May 1, an adjutant stirred Humphreys from his sleep with an alarming report that "Powell and all the Seminole nation are in a swamp six miles from Fort King, which place they intend to attack on the morning of the 2^{d} in three points and set fire to it. After destroying Fort King, Camp Drane will be their next object and then, they will go down and capture the block house on the Ouithlacoochee."[23] Even more surprising than the alleged plot was the source of the intelligence – Osceola's wife, Che-cho-ter (the Morning Dew). Little is known of her, but, according to prominent Seminole War historian John Mahon, such treachery among Seminole women was highly irregular or even unprecedented.[24] Subsequent intelligence soon clarified that Micanopy and Jumper, still many miles away at Pease Creek, had refused all entreaties to join in the planned assault. That left the fight to Osceola and his 400 warriors, "fellows who boast that they have never been conquered by the whites." Clinch had already released most of his volunteers, and many of his regulars were sick, leaving Fort Drane and his own plantation undermanned. Even so, shortly after receiving the startling intelligence from "Billy's wife," he ordered a company of the 1st Artillery along with four wagons of provisions, a bronze six-pounder, and an escort of dragoons to embark at daylight for "Camp King."[25]

"Thus it is," wrote Humphreys in a remarkable diatribe, "that a small force of regulars sustain the burden of the whole war. When a large body of militia is called into the field we starve ourselves to death to provision them and teach them their duty — then they are not willing pupils, but think they confer a great favor by coming to help us (as though it was a private quarrel of ours!)

23. Ibid., May 1, 1836, 9.
24. Humphreys indicates on two occasions that "Billy's wife" is the source of the intelligence and does so in the context of a discussion about "Powell." Importantly, Humphreys' account seems to contradict an assertion by leading Seminole War historian, John K. Mahon, that "this sort of treachery did not occur during the Seminole War, largely because Seminole women had little to do with white men, and nothing to do with them as sexual partners." Mahan, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 124. Che-cho-ter was somewhat unusual in that regard in that she lived for many years in close proximity to Fort King and was well known among whites.
25. Humphreys Journal, May 2, 1836, 10.



Alachua County, Florida, 1839, including Fort Drane, Oaklands, Micanopy, and Fort King. *Special Collections Department, University of South Florida.*

From the bottom of my heart I wish never to see another militia man in the field." But then, "as soon as we get rid of this swarm of locusts [the militia]... the enemy show themselves in force, and we with a mere handful of men – must fight the only battles that are fought. Why cannot our government send a large regular force at once into the field and terminate the war?"[26] General Scott shared Humphreys' views but not his tact. Writing to the War Department on April 30, he needlessly smeared the militia by requesting "3,000 good troops (*not* volunteers)."[27] Floridians loudly protested the slander.

General Clinch's move to reinforce Fort King may have forestalled the planned assault, which never materialized, but the Seminoles merely turned their attention to softer targets. Perhaps the most valuable of these, the Oaklands plantation, belonged to Clinch's brother-in-law, Colonel John H. McIntosh, Jr., the son of a wealthy Georgia planter with an interesting history of his own in Florida.[28] Situated not five miles from "Lang Syne" on the south

26. Ibid., May 1, 1836, 9-10.
27. *The Globe* (Washington, D.C.), May 12, 1836, 3.
28. John Houston (Houstoun) McIntosh, Sr., led the failed Patriot Revolution against Spanish Florida in 1812 and owned the extensive Refuge Plantation in Camden County, Georgia. He died on February 9, 1836, less than a year after the death of his daughter, Eliza Bayard Clinch. Patrick, 43, 141.

end of Lake Orange and extending into the forbidding Tuscawilla Hammock, Oaklands drew unwanted attention in mid-April when Indians secreted onto the plantation and set fire to the cotton house, leaving it in "ashes and ruins."[29] With the army now returned, McIntosh no doubt hoped to stem further losses but would be disappointed. The regulars were too few to police the extensive frontiers, and they increasingly retreated to the confines of their forts at nightfall, abandoning the dark hours to the enemy. The results were predictable. On May 2, Humphreys reported that "an express came in from McIntosh's with a note... stating that there were many Indians constantly hovering about the plantation at night and the overseer reported that his negroes were almost in a state of rebellion... He suspected them of holding communications with the Seminoles."[30] Several weeks later, Jumper and as many as 300 warriors targeted the Pilgrimage Plantation near Micanopy, where they "stole all of Colonel [Gad] Humphreys's[31] negroes (29 in number)... They were 250 yards beyond the pickets and went off quietly. One cry for help would have saved them, but it appears that they were not unwilling to go. Why is not a company of mounted men sent in pursuit? I blush whilst I ask the question. There is" Humphreys grumbled, "a want of energy in those who command – broken down *bon vivants* should never command a post in an Indian country."[32]

Increasingly fearful and faced with devastating losses, Floridians clambered for more federal money and additional troops, and Governor Call initiated a torrent of correspondence to the War Department. Rumors soon circulated out of Picolata that "General Scott intends trying a summer campaign." Humphreys,

29. House Committee on Claims, *John H. McIntosh*, 27th Congress, 2d session, 1842, House Report 470, 3.
30. Humphreys Journal, May 5, 1836, 10.
31. No relation to Andrew Humphreys. Originally from New York, Gad Humphreys ranked among the most prominent citizens of the region. He served for many years as the first Seminole Indian Agent (1822-1830) and later turned to agricultural pursuits, first in cooperation with McIntosh on his Oaklands plantation and, later in the spring of 1836, on his own homestead called Pilgrimage Plantation in the immediate vicinity of Micanopy. The best source on Gad Humphreys' plantation is House Committee on Claims, *John H. McIntosh*, 27th Congress, 2d session, 1842, is House Report 470, 4. Also see House Committee on Claims, *Gad Humphreys*, 29th Congress, 1st session, 1846, House Report 203, 1-5.
32. Humphreys Journal, May 21, 1836, 12. A *bon vivant* is "a person who lives luxuriously and enjoys good food and drink" or "a jovial companion."

ever the good soldier, wanted nothing of it. "I hate to croak, but I see no reason why hundreds of men should be sacrificed to heal General Scott's wounded vanity. He can not bear that it should be said that it took him a year to subdue Powell and wishes to make use of the summer months... If it were not for the certainly of great sickness and death, I should hope that a campaign might be attempted." The rumors ultimately proved false. Instead of a summer campaign for the army, there would be only retreat and further embarrassment.[33]

Humphreys participated in a war council at Lang Syne on May 17 to determine the fate of Fort King, but Clinch was not party to it, having recently resigned from the army. His young wife, Eliza Bayard (McIntosh) Clinch, had died of scarlet fever the previous year leaving eight young children in the general's care, and he had sensibly determined to retreat with his brood to a second plantation in Georgia.[34] The regional command temporarily devolved to Colonel James Bankhead of the Third Artillery, and he led the council. After a short period of deliberation, the officers – with Humphreys among them – unanimously determined to "break up Fort King." He explained in his journal:

> It affords no protection to property or persons, [the fort] being advanced in Indian country and nearly 60 miles from any occupied settlement. It does not prevent the Indians [from] passing into the settlements as the garrison cannot venture twenty paces from the pickets. We cannot provision it and from the reduced condition of the horses and from increasing sickness of our men we should not be able to send the wagon there again this summer, for want of an escort – and they are now out of provisions.[35]

Bankhead sent the determination to Scott for his approval, but the general, caught up in a maelstrom of his own making, never got back to him.

Amid rapidly deteriorating conditions throughout Florida and growing criticism of his failed campaign, General Scott erupted in a fit of frustration, publicly chastising local residents for retreating to Newnansville, Tallahassee, and a handful of military outposts

33. Humphreys Journal, May 5, 1836, 11.
34. For more on Clinch's resignation, see Patrick, 141-143.
35. Humphreys Journal, May 25, 1836, 13.

rather than adopting a more "manly course" and confronting the Indians who threatened the plantations. He also accused panic-stricken Floridians of seeing "an Indian in every bush" and fleeing "without knowledge whether they ran from squaws or warriors."[36] These words – not easily erased – appeared in newspapers throughout the territory to considerable uproar. The residents of Tallahassee burned Scott in effigy, and the territorial delegate in Congress, Joseph M. White, called for the general's immediate dismissal. In the end, the army dealt with Scott in a way that mollified angry Floridians without destroying the career of its finest general – it ordered him off to Georgia to manage the recently erupted Creek War. He was happy to go and promptly turned over interim command to the next ranking officer on May 26 before leaving the territory. Several weeks later from Columbus, Scott ascribed his failures against the Seminoles to the "extent of the country he occupies and still more to the frightful nature of its surface. Every hammock and scrub is more difficult, being pre-occupied with Indians, to storm and carry than any field work it was my fortune to take in Canada" during the War of 1812. He characterized the ongoing struggle in Florida as "one of unmitigated privation and suffering."[37]

The new commander, General Abraham Eustis, quickly signed off on the abandonment of Fort King with part of its garrison to go to Newnansville and the remainder to Black Creek, but Bankhead had already initiated the process. Humphreys wrote on May 25 that "15 wagons were sent there [Fort King] this morning, escorted by a company of dragoons, 2 companies of artillery and one field piece." He also noted that "the inhabitants of Alachua have assembled to the amount of some hundred – a great proportion women and children – at Newnansville and implored our protection."[38] Several days earlier, a rescue party under Major Read had advanced by boat up the Withlacoochee River to relieve the long-besieged blockhouse. Its emaciated defenders praised Read for his daring, calling him the "Hero of the Withlacoochee Blockhouse." For Scott, they had only condemnation. The abandonment of these two outposts in late May left Fort Drane in a precarious posi-

36. Mahan, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 161.
37. R. B. Lee from Washington, D.C. to Secretary of War, November 14, 1844 (2/9), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
38. Humphreys Journal, May 25, 1836, 12-13.

tion on the forward edge of an increasingly hostile frontier. The adverse effects were felt there almost at once.[39]

Humphreys accompanied a remnant of the Fort King garrison to Black Creek, arriving with the wagon train at Garey's Ferry[40] on the first of June. There he found his new commander, Major Julius Frederick Heileman, a West Point graduate of 1806 and, like many of the senior officers of the Seminole War period, a veteran of the War of 1812. He was also one of the few soldiers in Florida to win Humphrey's unqualified respect. The two knew each other from their days at Fort Moultrie in Charleston, South Carolina, and Humphreys recognized right away that the old major was unwell – "thin and pale," Humphreys later wrote, "and still much indisposed from recent illness brought on by exposure."[41] The army had just placed Heileman in command of U.S. troops west of the St. Johns River with headquarters at Fort Drane, and he spent several days resting his men for the return trip. On June 5, two mounted columns of regulars set out along Black Creek Road for Micanopy, with Humphreys commanding an artillery company and Lieutenant Thompson B. Wheelock leading a force of dragoons.[42] Heileman suffered along the way in an "enfeebled and sickly state." At one point, according to Humphreys, "it was necessary to lift him from his horse and place him in a wagon." Even so, the column made excellent time, covering the nearly 70 miles in three days and arriving at Fort Defiance, a palisaded work erected near Micanopy, on June 8. They discovered "a large party of Indians, [and] negroes, hardly half a mile from the pickets at Micanopy." Heileman gave orders to pursue. Humphreys took "20 or 30 men" and "ran about two miles without any success." George H. Talcott, a West Point classmate of Humphreys, set out with a dozen men and later stumbled upon "15 or 20 Indians and negroes who," according to Humphreys, "took to their heels."[43]

The following morning at about 9 o'clock, Osceola and a party of 150 to 200 Seminoles again challenged the fort, this time with

39. Knotts, 245-254; James M. Denham, "The Read-Alston Duel and Politics in Territorial Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (4), 429.
40. Also spelled "Gary's Ferry."
41. Andrew A. Humphreys (AAH) in Philadelphia to Representative Samson M. Mason, Washington, D.C., January 22, 1838 (1/43), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
42. *National Intelligencer*, July 12, 1836. See "Extract of a letter from an officer of the Army in Florida, dated Picolata, June 16."
43. Humphreys Journal, June 19, 1836, 13.

"the crack of two rifles...then after a minute's pause, two more." Humphreys believed it was a ruse to "draw out a small party" for ambush, but Heileman acceded to the offer for battle. As the Seminoles pulled back under fire, he formed commands and sent Captain Richard Bland Lee of the Third Artillery with twenty soldiers from Company I in pursuit along the road to Oaklands to the east. Wheelock followed with two dozen mounted dragoons along a parallel route just to the north hoping to envelope the enemy. Several minutes passed, and Humphreys, with his own company on guard duty the night before and no orders immediately forthcoming, "supposed that... [Company D] was not to be sent out." He was "upon the point of dismissing it" when the major ordered him to follow the dragoons in support. Humphreys gathered twenty-five men from Companies D and E and marched in single file from gates of Fort Defiance.[44]

Advancing under an already sweltering morning sun, Humphreys soon heard "the firing of the dragoons and the Indian yells and rifles, apparently about 400 yards in advance" and moved briskly to close the distance. At 100 yards, he spotted Captain Lee ahead and a large party of Seminoles off to the left on the outskirts of the Tuscawilla Hammock, "hid in the long grass and scrubby bushes and behind the pine trees."[45] The two officers briefly communicated, and Humphreys advanced with his men as Lee moved off to the right. According to Lee's subsequent account, "Humphreys gallantly charged the left – the enemy keeping up a retreating fire – [and] made several efforts to bring them to close quarters, but in vain, they having the advantage in celerity of movements." Lee also credited Humphreys with confounding several attempts by the enemy "to outflank our left, which he as often defeated by a prompt and judicious movement in that direction."[46] Awash with the sights and sounds of the raging battle, Humphreys spotted a "dying horse which had been shot belonging to the dragoons and that moaned most piteously."[47] His men continued to

44. Ibid., 13-14.
45. Ibid., 14.
46. Report from Captain Richard B. Lee at Micanopy to Governor Richard Call, July 12, 1836 (1/31), Humphreys Papers, HSP. Also see Elizabeth Fleming Rhodes, *On the Fringe of Fame: the Career of Richard Bland Lee II in the South and West, 1797-1875* (Pasadena, CA: The Castle Press, 1990), 54-55.
47. Humphreys Journal, June 19, 1836, 14.

push forward over rough ground, though more slowly now and under heavy fire, and at twelve foot intervals across the front to extend the left flank. They were joined by seven or eight dragoons.

Meanwhile, Captain Lee and his men continued their advance on the right, circling behind and eventually arriving under the cover of foliage at the enemy's rear. Lee "crept forward about ten or twelve paces upon a small knoll" and found himself "in full view of about fifty Indians," distant only 20 or 30 yards with their backs toward him as they exchanged fire with the troops on their front. The Seminoles discovered the maneuver just as the captain prepared to fire into them. As he later recalled, "the scene of panic and confusion which ensued on the part of the Indians baffles all description. Some fired at me without taking aim, some fled without firing at all, and some took to trees." Lee rose up to his full height, lifted his rifle, and charged forward as his men followed. Just several steps into the advance, he took a bullet, feeling a "terrible concussion" against his shoulder that knocked the air from his lungs. He spit blood as he rallied his men and resumed the charge but was quickly brought to the ground by a second bullet, this one through the fleshy part of his thigh. The captain waived off all aid and sent his troops forward as the Seminoles scattered in several directions to the safety of the deep hammock.[48] During a brief lull in the fighting, Humphreys worked his way to the far left of his slowly advancing line where he learned that a man from Company E had been shot and lay wounded in a forward position about 20 or 30 yards from the hammock. He sent several men to retrieve the injured soldier who, it turned out, was also quite drunk. As the rescue party later reported, the man had been "marching up and down in bravado until some redskin put a bullet in him. He was not," Humphreys noted without cheer, "badly wounded."[49]

Some minutes later, Humphreys saw Talcott coming up with a detachment of artillerymen and a six pounder. The redlegs quickly brought the gun to bear and fired a round of solid shot at the enemy. Another soon followed. Though mostly harmless under such conditions, the bellowing smoothbore struck fear among the

48. R. B. Lee to Governor Call (1/31), Humphreys Papers, HSP; Rhodes, 54-55.
49. Humphreys Journal, June 19, 1836, 15. For an excellent account on the problem of intemperance in the early army, see Francis P. Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), 328-330.

natives, who withdrew into the deeper recesses of the hammock. Talcott then turned to his former classmate and asked, "Now do you charge the hammock with the two companies?" Humphreys replied that he "considered it useless."

> For if the enemy are near us, they are on the edge of the hammock, from which place, perfectly hid themselves, they may take deliberate aim as we advance and fire when about 50 or 60 yards distant, then retreat as they have done all this morning. And we shall only lose some men and perhaps not get a shot at one of the enemy. This is the well known habit of the enemy, and they are well acquainted with the one or two trails which we need to penetrate it [the hammock], of which we know nothing... An advance into the hammock cannot result to our advantage.[50]

Talcott briefly equivocated, suggesting that it might be better to charge "because we could say then that we had done it." Humphreys again asserted that "it the merest piece of folly to enter the hammock," then stepped away to attend to something else. He returned moments later to see Talcott and Wheelock, both senior to him, discussing the matter. "What determination have you come to," asked Humphreys, "shall I charge or not." Talcott fired off a final volley from the cannon before answering in the negative, "No. Let us return." After an hour and twenty minutes of fighting under a broiling sun, the freshly nicknamed "rascally regulars" returned to Micanopy in common time, having "beat off a large body of Indians."[51] The sharp engagement at Micanopy had produced the first decided victory for army forces in Florida.[52]

The war that mostly devoured officers of talent had finally spat one out in Major Heileman, and his actions at Micanopy drew national attention. Even the Jacksonian newspaper, *The Globe* (Washington, D.C.), lauded his bravery, though it did so while slandering the regular army in Florida and tossing a partisan jab at the 1836 Whig presidential candidate:

> Major Heileman and his little command of 75 men have given the first example in Florida of the true spirit that

50. Humphreys Journal, June 19, 1836, 15.
51. Ibid.; *National Intelligencer*, July 12, 1836. See "Extract of a letter from an officer of the Army in Florida, dated Picolata, June 16."
52. Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars*, 93.

> belongs to the American soldiery. He sallied out from his entrenchments with his force divided into three columns of 25 men each, attacked double their number of Indians, and put them to flight. What a contrast this to anterior the precedents of the Florida war! The Indians of the North once compared General [William Henry] Harrison to the ground hog, from his habit of burying his provisions and burrowing his troops under entrenchments. In Florida the course has been to fortify and starve, and to leave any unfortunate man shot outside the pickets to lie in his gore and perish of thirst, if not of his wounds. We are glad to see that Major Heileman has taught those under his command to emerge from the *breastwork panic.*[53]

A grateful president moved swiftly to reward the thirty-year veteran with a brevet promotion to Lieutenant Colonel, but the ailing officer did not live long enough to receive the honor.[54] The battle had exacerbated his already "enfeebled condition," and he slipped in and out of fever, later suffering "a violent hemorrhage at the nose which continued for some days."[55] Though lucid nearly to the end, he died on June 27, his jaundiced corpse betraying yellow fever as the probable culprit.

In a sad twist of fate, Lieutenant Wheelock of the dragoons beat Heileman to the grave by almost two weeks. The 35-year-old West Pointer and former college president agonized over ill health and, in the several days following the battle, tumbled into a deep despair. On June 15, Wheelock "fired his pistol into his mouth," as

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53. *The Globe,* June 25, 1836. The reference to leaving "any unfortunate man shot outside the pickets" undoubtedly relates to the case of Major William Gates, who was dismissed from the army on June 11, 1836, in a celebrated court-martial. According to Mahan, "the charge against him [Gates] was that he had left two bodies lying outside the works of Fort Barnwell [near Volusia, Florida] after the Indians had driven the burying party inside, and had made no effort to recover them for a full twenty-four hours." At the trial, General Scott testified that his officers "had been bemused by defensive works and had stayed inside when they ought to have been aggressive." Scott's testimony proved damaging, and the court convicted Gates and purged him from the army, though he was later restored to rank. Mahan, 158-159. Interestingly, Scott's views correlated with those of *The Globe,* at least in regard to "breastwork panic" (the tendency of the men to cling to their defensive works), and the paper was a sometime defender of the general. *The Globe,* June 1, 1836, 3.

54. "Colonel Heileman did not live to learn that he had been advanced and honored by the President." *The Globe,* July 16, 1836.

55. AAH to Representative Mason (1/43) Humphreys Papers, HSP.

one hospital steward noted, "and thus blew out his brains, hurrying his soul into perdition."[56] Humphreys believed him to be "insane at the time."[57] The gallant Captain Lee, despite his severe battlefield injuries, survived both officers by nearly forty years and eventually received a brevet promotion for bravery from the hands of "Old Hickory" himself. But his days as an artillery commander in Florida were over, and he spent the better part of the next year under a surgeon's care to remove floating bone fragments from his chest.[58]

As for Andrew Humphreys, he had performed energetically at Micanopy and displayed a physical courage and composure that would mark him many years later as a splendid field commander. The day after the battle, Wheelock wrote to Heileman that "the behaviour of the artillery under Lieutenants Talcott and Humphreys was extremely handsome and useful to the defeat of the Indians."[59] Heileman himself noted that "the gallantry and good conduct" of the officers was "beyond all commendation." Several weeks into July, Governor Call contacted the War Department to suggest "the propriety as well as justice of conferring brevets on Captain Lee, Lieutenant Humphreys, and Lieutenant Talcott, for the bravery with which they fought on that occasion. This just reward for their services," he concluded, "would have a happy effect on the future operations of the army."[60] Lee received his brevet promotion to considerable approbation in October 1836. Talcott waited much longer but eventually received his as well.[61] Humphreys never received a brevet for his actions at Micanopy, and the oversight rankled the prideful lieutenant for many years.[62]

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56. Mahon, ed., *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War by John Bemrose* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1966), 102. Just four months after Wheelock took his own life, another West Pointer (class of 1828), Captain John F. Lane, retired to his tent at Fort Drane and committed suicide by running a sword through his right eye into his brain. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 182.
57. Humphreys Journal, July 23, 1836, 18. The army later named a fort just to the west of Oaklands Plantation after the unfortunate Wheelock.
58. Rhodes, 57-58.
59. Thompson B. Wheelock at Micanopy to Julius F. Heileman, June 10, 1836 (1/22), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
60. Governor Call to Secretary of War recommending Humphreys and Talcott for brevets, undated, (2/11), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
61. Talcott received his brevet promotion on March 6, 1843 "for gallant conduct on several occasions in the war against the Florida Indians." Sprague, 553.
62. For the next eight years, Humphreys wrote letters lobbying on his own behalf but to no avail. See especially, AAH in Washington, D.C. to John J. Abert, December 1843 (1/116), Humphreys Papers, HSP.

While the Battle of Micanopy exacted a high price from the participating officers, it offered little in the way of strategic or tactical importance. The casualty figures on both sides of the engagement were curiously low in what was already shaping up to be a war of attrition. As Humphreys later reported of the battle, "several Indians were seen to fall but were dragged off instantly," and only a few of the dragoons and artillery were wounded, Captain Lee most seriously, and none killed. Also, Heileman's bold operation failed to forestall the Seminole rampage through the Alachua region. An express from Lang Syne carried news that the Seminoles had "entered Gen. Clinch's sugar establishment [and] that his negroes have revolted." Additional reports detailed the extent of the troubles. "About the beginning of June," Humphreys wrote, "a plot had been discovered among General Clinch's negroes by which it appeared that they had held constant intercourse with the Indians and were... to have gone off with a party of Seminoles... Their bundles were already made up, and they began disposing of some of their truck to the soldiers, which causing suspicion, finally led to their detection." A detachment was sent out "to the negro houses" and all there were confined, "six of them ironed."[63] The army thwarted the planned slave insurrection but could not protect Clinch's extensive sugar works, most of which were destroyed on June 8. Meanwhile, the Seminoles had practically overrun McIntosh's plantation, and, just shortly after reassembling at Fort Defiance, Heileman sent an express to Oaklands with orders for the commanding officer there, Captain Lemuel Gates, to abandon the tiny garrison after destroying everything of potential use to the enemy. Heileman and his two companies left Micanopy for Lang Syne on the morning of June 11 and arrived later that day, the men "much worn down by the extreme heat of the weather and want of rain."[64]

At Fort Drane, already notorious for its sickliness, insect-born diseases had reached epidemic proportions. More than half of the 240-man garrison was ill (including five of eight officers), many suffering from life-threatening diseases including malaria and yellow fever.[65] Ailing soldiers slept two-to-a-bed and claimed floor

63. Humphreys Journal, June 19, 1836, 16.
64. Heileman at Fort Drane to Governor Call, June 14, 1836 (1/28), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
65. *The Globe*, July 11, 1836.

space in seven different buildings within the compound. Conditions were abysmal. According to a hospital steward at Lang Syne, "all suffered from the malignancy of disease and the comfortless state in the fort. Some were filthy in the extreme, others without necessary clothing, and the heaviness of the food... make[s] our condition most deplorable. The periodical rains added to our other troubles. Doubtless the heat of the fort, being situated so as to be near the small ponds over which the vapors hung, made our situation most unhealthy." As many as five soldiers died each day. For those who lived, biting and stinging insects interrupted sleep and contributed mightily to the general malaise. "Sand flies and mosquitoes were innumerable... centipedes, cockroaches, scorpions..., [and] immense spiders, were daily tenants of the place... The sand of the fort was full of chiggers and a sort of black flea. This latter was the greatest [pest] to us of all."[66] Suffering along with the rest, Humphreys charged those "who willfully placed troops at Ft. Drane" with negligence and worse. "Everybody protested against the location," he added, "it was not [justified] in a military point of view, its unhealthiness notorious. If he can sleep, let him."[67]

It was during this unhappy period at Lang Syne that Humphreys began mulling the idea of quitting his military career. On June 23, he wrote, "All is quietness and indolence. My only objection to this mode of life is that it will in a measure unfit me for the pursuits which I have marked out for myself upon the termination of these difficulties."[68] The "quietness" to which he refers was attributable to the Seminoles, who had retreated from the region for their ritual Green Corn Dance but would later stage a bloody return.[69] Until then, Humphreys neglected his journal, going more than 30 days without making an entry. A thin trail of surviving correspondence suggests that he succumbed during this period to one of the myriad of diseases endemic to summertime Florida, probably yellow fever.[70] He scratched off a letter to his

66. Mahon, *Reminiscences*, 101. Mary C. Gillett, *The Army Medical Department, 1818-1865* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, 1987), 67.
67. AAH to Samuel Humphreys on August 10, 1836 (1/36), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
68. Humphreys Journal, June 28, 1836, 17.
69. *The Globe*, July 13, 1836, cites *The Florida Herald* of June 25 "that this is about the season for the celebration of the 'Green Corn Dance' by the Seminoles."
70. Nowhere was Humphreys confidently diagnosed, but later correspondence indicates that his "liver was greatly deranged" and that he suffered from an

family in this sickly state, hinting at his intended resignation. His father responded to the news with open arms. "My home will always be yours," he wrote in a letter dated July 20, "when you choose to avail yourself of it." In the midst of a rapidly playing out economic boom, the elder Humphreys also reassured his son that "it will be a hard case indeed if you cannot find handsome employment."[71]

The Army's decision to vacate Fort Drane finally came in mid-July, but the process consumed several weeks. Many soldiers were too sick to be moved, and the Seminoles – recently returned – roved the region virtually unchecked, making travel treacherous. Osceola and his men even felled trees to "block up the road" between Micanopy and Drane. Nevertheless, in the predawn hours of July 19, Lieutenant William S. Maitland and a contingent of 80 men, a howitzer, and 22 four-horse wagons set out for Fort Defiance, a mere ten miles away. The train traveled almost the entire distance before it was set upon by "a large body of Indians," estimated at between two and three hundred. According to Humphreys, the "fire was returned with spirit and the howitzer played among them," but the soldiers were badly outnumbered. Only the timely arrival of a relief column from Micanopy saved them, but the Battle of Welika Pond claimed "five men... mortally wounded (3 since dead), 3 severely and 1 slightly." Given the size of the contingent at Fort Drane, Humphreys concluded it "necessary to make at least 6 trips before we can remove all our public property," which would require that "we be exposed 12 times to attack from a very superior number of the enemy." He estimated that an escort of two hundred men would be needed but did "not believe we shall be able to increase it to that strength."[72]

As the Army began emptying Fort Drane, Humphreys lost whatever had driven his remarkable foray into journal writing. He posted his last entry from Florida on July 23 in which he logged his account of Maitland's adventure and also lamented the loss of close companions at Lang Syne, including Heileman and

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"obstinate chronic inflammation of the mucous membrane of the intestines." Dr. Benjamin S. Bohrer at Georgetown, Washington, D.C., August 22, 1838 (1/56), Humphreys Papers, HSP. At least one source identifies Dr. Bohrer as a physician to Andrew Jackson.

71. Samuel Humphreys to AAH, July 20, 1836 (1/35), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
72. Humphreys Journal, July 23, 1836, 18.

Wheelock. "These two deaths," he wrote, "gloom over our sickly circle." He also noted the passing of his friend, Lieutenant Daniel Herring, who "died about the same time in St. Augustine – poor fellow, with his talents and ambition to die so young was indeed hard. I lived in the same rooms with him at Augusta for several months — I knew him well and deeply do I deplore his loss."[73] Humphreys accompanied the last of the invalids to Micanopy on August 7. Rather than risk additional trips, the Army abandoned substantial stores at Lang Syne, including 12,000 bushels of corn standing in the fields ready to harvest. For Humphreys, even the single excursion brought on "another severe attack" of illness that laid him low for several days.

With the move to Micanopy in early August, Humphreys fell under the authority of "this most contemptible fellow Ichabod [Crane]," who assumed command of northeastern Florida on July 24. He first annoyed Humphreys by redirecting a company of horses bound for Micanopy to another garrison at St. Augustine. "What is the matter with Col. Crane?" Humphreys asked in a letter to his father. "Does he know that we are dependent upon the mounted militia for an escort to the train – that it is utterly impossible for troops on foot to do this duty...? It is most unfortunate indeed that our troops are to be cursed with fools."[74] If indeed a fool, Crane was a long suffering one. Following a brief acquaintance many years earlier with the famed writer, Washington Irving, Crane earned everlasting notoriety as the namesake of the "loosely hung together" country schoolmaster from Sleepy Hollow.[75] Legend has it that he was apathetic about the "honor," but even the humorless Ichabod Crane could not dampen Humphreys' enthusiasm for Micanopy. It was, as he wrote on August 10, "a fine place compared to Fort Drane. We have houses to live in – shade and a fine breeze

73. Ibid., 18-19. Herring died of yellow fever on June 22, 1836. Sprague, 532.
74. AAH to Samuel Humphreys, August 15, 1836 (1/37), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
75. Many years before while stationed with the army at Sackets Harbor, New York, Crane developed an acquaintance with Washington Irving, at the time a military aid to New York Governor Daniel D. Tompkins. Several years later, when Irving needed a name for the country schoolteacher in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" (1819), he remembered the soldier he had met and used his name, much to the chagrin of the real Ichabod Crane, whose grave remains a frequent target for vandals nearly one hundred and fifty years after his death in 1857.

constantly. It's confidently expected that the health of all the troops will improve."[76]

Several days after arriving at Fort Defiance, Humphreys drafted a resignation letter in which he "assigned no reason for leaving the service" but harbored a good many.[77] The most compelling, probably, was his dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war and his sense that the army's many sacrifices in the field went unappreciated by a hostile commander-in-chief and a fickle congress.[78] This frustration – widely shared among his fellow West Pointers – only deepened when Humphreys learned that his name was not on the annual promotion list. The impetuous young officer drafted his resignation within a day of receiving that news only to discover that the oversight had been corrected before Congress approved the final list on August 16. He received his promotion to first lieutenant but quit anyway, intent no doubt on escaping "the terrible fevers of the South" while he still had the strength to do so.[79]

Humphreys also acted out of ambition. The booming economy of the mid-1830s produced abundant opportunities for alternative employment, and this was particularly so for West Point engineers. Internal improvements expanded rapidly but recklessly under President Jackson who vigorously opposed the stabilizing influence of Nicholas Biddle's Second Bank of the United States. By 1835, Jackson had largely destroyed that Philadelphia institution and also wiped out the federal deficit. The following year the U.S. Treasury accumulated a sizable budget surplus that members of Congress voted to distribute, passing the funds to their home districts where the windfall was quickly invested – in canals, turnpikes and railroad companies. These increasingly speculative ventures generated enormous demand for qualified engineers, and the compensation for such services outstripped army pay by several times. As a fellow officer explained in June 1836, "a large num-

76. AAH to Samuel Humphreys, August 10, 1836 (1/36), Humphreys Papers, HSP.
77. Ibid.
78. As one officer explained, he and his fellows were "much dissatisfied with the excessive dislike with which Congress seems to view the Army." *National Intelligencer*, July 12, 1836. See "Extract of a letter from an officer of the Army in Florida, dated Picolata, June 16."
79. AAH in Philadelphia to Abert, July 16, 1838 (1/48), Humphreys Papers, HSP; Anonymous letter to the editor of the *National Intelligencer* in criticism of war coverage, February 1837 (1/39), Humphreys Papers, HSP.

ber of officers have resigned, knowing that they can do much better out of the Army than in it."[80]

Humphreys' brief stay at Micanopy was, despite his initial optimism, characterized by continued sickness, and the general health of the entire outpost was so precarious as to preclude any possibility of a late summer campaign. "There will be none of that we all are confident," he reassured his father on August 10. "The governor [Call] himself, I believe, has given it up, and even if he had not our troops cannot take the field.... We still have more than one hundred sick. My company has now left with it but one sergeant and one corporal – both sick. The other non-commissioned officers – 3 sergeants and 3 corporals – will be in St. Augustine sick! I have five men for duty, 3 of them convalescents." In the same letter, Humphreys reported on the death "four or five days ago" of Captain Lemuel Gates who had survived commands at both Oaklands and Lang Syne but had "been a long time sick with intervals of good health." His death at Micanopy was occasioned by "eating large quantities of unripe peaches, which produced inflammation."[81] Captain Thomas Childs assumed temporary command at Fort Defiance. He was a West Point graduate of 1814 and a man of some merit in Humphreys' estimation.

On the morning of August 17, an express arrived from Black Creek ordering the contingent at Micanopy to vacate the garrison and fall back to Natural Bridge near Newnansville.[82] The order came from the much maligned Colonel Crane, and Humphreys was incredulous – "utterly impossible – if we pull back at all, it must be upon Black Creek [Garey's Ferry]." He believed that Childs was of like mind and – "if not superseded" – would countermand the order.[83] Major Benjamin K. Pierce of the 1st Artillery, older brother

80. *National Intelligencer*, July 12, 1836. See "Extract of a letter from an officer of the Army in Florida, dated Picolata, June 16."

81. AAH to Samuel Humphreys on August 10, 1836 (1/36), Humphreys Papers, HSP. Gates died on August 6, 1836. According to Steven Stowe, many southerners believed that specific items of diet „either fostered or thwarted sickness regardless of race; it was common sense for everyone, for example, to avoid eating too much fresh fruit during fever times." See Steven M. Stowe, *Doctoring the South: Southern Physicians and Everyday Medicine in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 5.

82. The Santa Fe River vanishes beneath the ground in a sink and reappears out of a rise about three miles away, thus forming a natural bridge.

83. AAH at Micanopy to Samuel Humphreys, August 15, 1836 (1/37), Humphreys Papers, HSP.

of future president Franklin Pierce (who, incidentally, defeated Whig candidate Winfield Scott for the position years later in 1852), arrived from Black Creek on August 20 to close out Fort Defiance but could not resist a final swipe at the Seminoles who had taken over Fort Drane and were gorging themselves on abandoned stores of sugar cane and corn.[84] Pierce and Childs set out for the location in the wee hours of August 21 with a force of 109 men and one field piece. The column arrived at sunrise and with "great vigor and spirit" attacked the surprised Seminoles, killing at least ten and driving the rest three-quarters of a mile into the hammock before disengaging and returning to Micanopy. Humphreys did not participate in the battle, missing out on an affair that won brevet promotions for the two officers. Pierce emptied Fort Defiance on August 24, torching the post and its contents "to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy." He then marched off with its ragged contingent of regulars, but to Black Creek rather than Newnansville.[85]

Humphreys marked his last days in Florida at Black Creek as Governor Call continued stubbornly to plan for an active campaign, now pushed into the early fall. Word trickled through the ranks that a large force of regulars under Brigadier General Thomas S. Jesup would arrive shortly to bring the war to a rapid close, but Humphreys was no longer fit for battle and would not participate in any case.[86] At the end of August, he received official notice of his promotion to first lieutenant followed shortly by a second dispatch, this one from the White House accepting his resignation effective September 30, 1836. He set out for home from St. Augustine on September 21 aboard the packet ship *Dolphin*, a new double masted, side-paddle wheel steamship designed and built by James P. Allaire, among the great New York shipbuilders of the early steam age and a one-time partner of inventor Robert Fulton.[87] The Army chartered the ill-fated packet through most of

84. Several historical accounts place Osceola there as well, and some surmise that the great war chief contracted the malaria that later killed him while residing at Fort Drane. William and Ellen Hartley, *Osceola: the Unconquered Indian* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1973), 194. James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), 93.

85. House Committee on Claims, *Gad Humphreys*, 29th Congress, 1st session, 1846, House Report 203, 5.

86. For Humphreys' belief that the war was drawing to a close, see AAH in Philadelphia to Abert, August 7, 1838 (1/52), Humphreys Papers, HSP. Also see Chester L. Kieffer, *Maligned General: The Biography of Thomas Sidney Jesup* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1979).

87. *Charleston Courier*, September 24, 1836.

1836, and it made regular runs between St. Augustine and Charleston, South Carolina, with stops in Georgia for firewood, typically at St. Marys and Savannah. The same relative good fortune that marked Humphreys' seven-month journey through war and pestilence held out, and the two-day voyage to Charleston occasioned nothing worse than a bit of sea-sickness for the still ailing Humphreys. Three months later the *Dolphin* blew her boiler, exploding in a fury of twisted metal and burning steam. Fifteen of the thirty passengers died in the blast or drowned in its aftermath, including a promising young West Pointer, Alexander D. MacKay. It was the worst steamboat disaster in Florida history until the Civil War.[88]

Humphreys arrived at Charleston on September 23 in the company of his West Point classmate, Samuel Chase Ridgely, who – unlike Humphreys and two-thirds of the class of 1831 – remained with the Army after 1836.[89] Andrew's younger sibling, Joshua, then a midshipman in the U.S. Navy, met the two officers in Charleston and accompanied them on the next leg of the voyage to New York City aboard the steamer *Columbia*. From there, the brothers made their way alone to Philadelphia and their grandfather's home, Pont Reading, where Andrew spent much of the next two years recuperating under a doctor's care.[90]

The war in Florida continued for six more years. Brigadier General Jesup, commanding a large force of regulars from late 1836 to May 1838, succeeded neither in purging the Seminoles from Florida nor in convincing them to leave peaceably. He did, however, drive a wedge between the Seminoles and their slave allies and, in an act of notorious treachery, capture Osceola under a flag of truce in early 1838. The ailing warrior died in captivity. Jesup also managed to coerce the Seminoles from their strongholds along the Withlacoochee River into the inhospitable

88. The explosion ripped MacKay from the deck. His body washed ashore four miles below the mouth of the St. Johns but went undiscovered for several months, his gold watch still in his pocket when they found him. Edward A. Mueller, "Steamboat Activity in Florida during the Second Seminole Indian War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (4), 412, 415. Also see, Mueller, "East Coast Florida Steamboating, 1831-1861," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (3), 244-46.

89. Named after a former Supreme Court Associate Justice, Ridgely later achieved some prominence as the first Acting Judge Advocate of the Army (1844-1846), though his career was cut short by his death in 1850.

90. *Charleston Courier*, September 22, 1836; Ibid., September 26, 1836; *New York Post*, September 29, 1836, 3.

Everglades to the south. Colonel Zachary Taylor and then Colonel Walker K. Armistead, succeeded Jesup, but the task of drawing the unpopular war to a close fell to Colonel William J. Worth. Breaking with tradition, he campaigned throughout the summer of 1841, waging a ruthless war of extermination on the Seminoles and destroying their food stores and dwellings. The Seminoles capitulated in August of the following year, but the U.S. paid dearly for an untidy victory in what proved to be the longest, costliest, and deadliest Indian war in American history. Ultimately, nearly 1,600 soldiers lost their lives including 33 West Pointers, and the United States spent something approaching $30 million – all so that 3,800 half-starved Indians might be forcibly removed from Florida.

Unlike so many of his close colleagues, young Andrew Humphreys survived his first experience at war, but his own writings give ample evidence of the many sacrifices endured – the loss of friends and colleagues, the destruction of the romantic ideal of war so carefully cultivated at West Point, the interruption of a promising Army career, and the shattering of his once robust health. In exchange for the price paid, Humphreys obtained, according to one historian, "experience and breath of view rather than honor."[91] He also earned the esteem of his fellow officers who recognized and admired his intelligence, tenacity, and courage under fire. These were things on which to build. Humphreys soon regained his strength sufficiently to parlay his military connections into more lucrative work as a civilian engineer, but the lure of martial life proved too strong. Humphreys rejoined the Army in 1838, initiating a slow but steady climb into the highest ranks of his profession.

91. James H. Wilson, "Major General Andrew Atkinson Humphreys," in *Papers of the*, vol. 10 (1895), 76; The National Cyclopedia (7), 35.

Confronting a "Climate of Raucous and Carnival Invasion": The AAUW Takes On the Johns Committee

by Karen Graves

"What happens to the pursuit of truth and the advancement of learning in such an atmosphere as the heresy hunters and thought controllers have created in parts of the South can only be conjectured,"[1] historian C. Vann Woodward wondered in his essay on "The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Colleges," published in 1962—the same year that members of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee (FLIC) descended on the University of South Florida (USF). The Committee had come to Tampa to investigate reports of communism, homosexuality, obscenity in course materials, and professors' alleged attacks on students' religious beliefs. This emboldened advance carried the Committee into territory far removed from its legislative mandate, and exposed it to new criticisms. Thus far the Committee's actions against civil rights activists, and then gay and lesbian educators—however egregious—had fallen within the boundaries of the dominant ideology in the region, in fact, the nation. Indeed, the Committee's very existence came about as part of

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1. C. Vann Woodward, "The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Colleges," *Harper's Magazine* 225 (October 1962): 89.

the State's effort to preserve segregation in the wake of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. When the NAACP entangled, and finally defeated the Committee in the court system, it sustained its legislative life by taking on the so-called problem of homosexuality in the school system. In the 1950s and 1960s homosexuality was an issue that no court, indeed no public voice, would yet defend. When State Senator Charley Johns and his Committee launched its USF investigation in 1962, it had been frustrated by the NAACP maneuvers but still remained relatively unchecked.[2]

The Florida Legislature established FLIC during a special session devoted to the issue of school segregation in the summer of 1956. In the midst of heated discussion between moderate and conservative segregationists senators Charley Johns, Dewey Johnson, and John Rawls introduced Senate Bill 38 to establish a special legislative investigation committee. Couched in vague and non-committal language, the bill established a committee that would target civil rights activists. Supporters of the bill modeled their efforts on those of Cold War conservatives, who had usurped legislative investigative power on the national stage to suppress any

2. The history of the Johns Committee is complex, intersecting with the histories of higher education, gay and lesbian education, and the American civil rights movement. See, for instance, Allyson A. Beutke and Scott Litvack, *Behind Closed Doors: The Dark Legacy of the Johns Committee*, Documentary Institute in the College of Journalism and Communications, University of Florida, 2000; Stacy Lorraine Braukman, "Anticommunism and the Politics of Sex and Race in Florida, 1954-1965," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999; Braukman,"'Nothing Else Matters But Sex': Cold War Narratives of Deviance and the Search for Lesbian Teachers in Florida, 1959-1963," *Feminist Studies* 27 (3) (Fall 2001): 553-575; John Loughery, "Hunting Gays in Gainesville," *The Harvard Gay and Lesbian Review* 18 (Winter 1996): 17-19; Judith G. Poucher, "One Woman's Courage: Ruth Perry and the Johns Committee," in Jack E. Davis and Kari Frederickson, eds., *Making Waves: Female Activists in Twentieth-Century Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 229-249; Robert W. Saunders, *Bridging the Gap: Continuing the Florida NAACP Legacy of Harry T. Moore, 1952-1966* (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2000); James A. Schnur, "Closet Crusaders: The Johns Committee and Homophobia, 1956-1965," in John Howard, ed., *Carryin' On In the Lesbian and Gay South* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 132-163; Schnur, "Cold Warriors in the Hot Sunshine: USF and the Johns Committee," *The Sunland Tribune* 18 (November 1992): 9-15; James T. Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997); Bonnie Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida: Charley Johns and the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee," Master's thesis, University of South Florida, 1985.

activity they deemed "un-American." Johns' previous attempts to establish an investigative committee in Florida had failed, but in the face of the desegregation order the Senate (34-1) and the House (72-15) passed SB 38 by wide margins. Governor LeRoy Collins allowed the bill to become law without his signature, giving life to the Johns Committee as the investigative body was soon known. The Committee had the authority to hold public hearings and subpoena witnesses, although its mandate lasted only until the next legislative session. Over the next nine years, successive legislatures re-enacted the enabling legislation, and, although new acts expanded the range of operations and budgets of the committee, the FLIC routinely exceeded its authority. By 1958 the NAACP had stymied Committee efforts by tying up the investigations in court challenges. As a result, FLIC turned its attention to exposing and rooting out individuals it assumed to be gay or lesbian, particularly targeting professors, teachers, and students in Florida's universities and K-12 schools. The Johns Committee hired investigators who kept citizens, professors, teachers, and students under surveillance, pulled teachers and students from classes for hours of questioning without access to counsel, and violated other civil rights protections. Scores of teachers and professors lost their jobs and educational credentials, and students were expelled. When FLIC opened its investigation into activities at USF in 1962, the public already had some idea of what to expect.

Woodward's essay indicates that the Johns Committee investigation of USF did not occur in a vacuum. Across the United States, faculty dismissals and harassments and student reprisals had reached a new high. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP), a national faculty organization, reported that cases involving academic freedom increased from 37 in 1961 to 55 in 1962. Woodward attributed much of the activity to the reactionary, anti-civil rights politics of groups such as the White Citizen Councils, the John Birch Society, and the Ku Klux Klan. Noting that assaults on academic freedom and due process were by no means limited to the South, Woodward outlined 16 recent cases in southern schools, adding that extremists' attacks on historically black colleges and universities were particularly intense.[3] Woodward's analysis led him to believe that aroused public opinion was the critical element for ending the attack on academic

3. Woodward, "The Unreported Crisis," 82; 84; 89.

freedom. In addition to the positive effects of public outrage in exposing the attacks, the organizational support of the AAUP and court rulings had provided some assistance in limiting the damage, and protecting academic freedom. Historian James Schnur documented all these elements in his analysis of the USF investigation.[4] Less is known of the work of the American Association of University Women (AAUW), an organization that helped turn the tide of public opinion against the Johns Committee. The Tampa Branch of AAUW engaged in a sustained effort to protect academic freedom by working with women locally and across the state. While other organizations avoided direct confrontation with the Committee, Tampa's AAUW fought openly and directly.

It is no surprise that the efforts of the Tampa women have been ignored. As Raymond Arsenault and Gary Mormino note in their foreword to *Making Waves: Female Activists in Twentieth-Century Florida*, women's historians have thus far paid little attention to Florida, and the standard histories of the state make few references to women. Certainly this is true in educational history; with the exception of some references to Mary McLeod Bethune—short, informational pieces; attention in collections on African American women in the civil rights movement; a 1964 biography—one is hard pressed to cite scholarship on Florida women's contributions to education.[5] This is not for lack of material, as the contributors to *Making Waves* make clear. Many of these essays, on politics, work, environmentalism, and civil rights, address broad educational concerns. But Lynne Rieff's chapter on home demonstration work is the only one that focuses directly on schooling issues of the sort usually taken up by educational historians. Study of the Tampa AAUW adds another dimension to the important scholarship now emerging in Florida women's history.

4. Ibid., 89; Schnur, "Cold Warriors in the Hot Sunshine."
5. Raymond Arsenault and Gary Mormino, "Foreword," in *Making Waves*, vii-viii. See, for instance, Kendra Hamilton, "From Humble Beginnings," and "Keepers of the Dream," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 21, no. 20 (November 18, 2004): 12-13; Rackham Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune; A Biography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964); Dolores C. Leffall and Janet L. Sims, "Mary McLeod Bethune—The Educator; Also Including a Selected Annotated Bibliography;" B. Joyce Ross, "Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Youth Administration: A Case Study of Power Relationships in the Black Cabinet of Franklin D. Roosevelt;" and, Elaine M. Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Youth Administration," in *Black Women in United States History*, Darlene Clark Hine, ed. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1990).

The American Association of University Women dates to 1921 when the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, founded in 1881, and the Southern Association of College Women, founded in 1903, combined their efforts. These organizations, formed in the early decades of women's collegiate education, concentrated on equity for women in higher education. After the merger the AAUW operated on a number of fronts, serving simultaneously as a professional organization, research institute, public policy lobby, service group, and social club. Susan Levine, author of *Degrees of Equality: The American Association of University Women and the Challenge of Twentieth-Century Feminism*, argues that the AAUW advanced the cause of feminism and become a significant force for social change. The organization monitored the status of women as students and professors in colleges and universities, tracking information on admission, graduation requirements, facilities, job hires and advancement, salaries, representation in administration and on boards of trustees, and other measures of equality in higher education. Scholars, noting periodic shifts of emphasis in the history of the AAUW, agree that local branches often shouldered a good deal of the work of the national organization. Coming out of the 1950s, a decade when political activity within the branches waned, the Tampa AAUW's 1963 battle with the Johns Committee stands out for its courage. The Tampa action can be seen as a bridge in between the AAUW's community service emphasis of the 1950s and the grass roots activism of the 1960s.[6]

In his introduction to *Making Waves*, volume co-editor Jack Davis argues that analysis of women's clubs is critical to developing a fuller understanding of women's activism in twentieth-century Florida. The story of the Tampa AAUW adds weight to Davis' contention that, "As a collective group pursuing common civic goals, women could in fact wield the power to influence public policy."[7] In addition, an analysis of the Tampa AAUW activities contributes to our understanding of the role Florida women played in fighting oppressive state forces during the Cold War, offering an interesting parallel to Judith Poucher's study of Ruth Perry. Perry emerged as one of

6. Sarah V. Barnes, "American Association of University Women," in *Historical Dictionary of Women's Education in the United States*, Linda Eisenmann, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 14-18; Patrice McDermott review of *Degrees of Equality: The American Association of University Women and the Challenge of Twentieth-Century Feminism*, by Susan Levine, *History of Education Quarterly* 36 (3) (Autumn 1996): 380-381.

7. Jack E. Davis, "Introduction," in *Making Waves*, 7.

the courageous Miami NAACP members whose resistance to Johns Committee intimidation became legendary. Perry and the women of the AAUW appear to have cut their strategic blueprints from the same cloth. Poucher's essay indicates to Davis that "Perry's assertiveness in the press and before the Johns Committee was more representative of a new age of activism that adopted methods of direct-action protest and the language of freedom and empowerment."[8] Such methods also distinguished the AAUW's response to the Johns Committee's assault on the university from the approach taken by the AAUP. It is important, too, to contrast the activism of the AAUW with that of women in other groups who supported the Johns Committee. As Davis observes, women made history both as "anticommunist crusaders and as defenders of civil liberties," and the unique, nine-year run of the Johns Committee has much to tell us in this regard.[9]

The Johns Committee began its secret investigation of the University of South Florida in April 1962, interrogating witnesses at the Hawaiian Village, a motel on Dale Mabry Avenue in Tampa. The inquiries became public knowledge after Thomas Wenner, a disaffected instructor who had a hand in bringing the Committee to the University, spoke with the press. Margaret Fisher, Director of Student Personnel at USF during the investigation, recalls that the Johns Committee was well known among faculty and administrative staff, many of whom had come to the new university in 1960 from other Florida institutions. "The people I worked with most closely tended to groan, 'Well, here comes one more witch hunt.'" Once university officials became aware that the Johns Committee had begun an investigation of USF, the AAUP advised President John Allen to "invite" the committee to campus. "Those who had been through similar trials elsewhere had learned that the best way to cope with ideological attacks is to strip the cloak of darkness away from the sponsors and their proceedings."[10] Fisher likened the university approach to the impending investigation to the efforts that educators make to inform accrediting agen-

8. Ibid., 14. See Judith Poucher, "One Woman's Courage: Ruth Perry and the Johns Committee" in *Making Waves*, 229-249; idem, "Raising Her Voice: Ruth Perry, Activist and Journalist for the Miami NAACP," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Volume 84, No. 4 (Spring 2006): 517-540.

9. Davis., 13.

10. Margaret Fisher interview by author, 18 August 2004; Notes from interview with Fisher, 1 July 2005, pp. 2, 6.

cies of the mission and purpose of an institution. That is, if Johns and his committee didn't understand the importance of academic freedom, professional ethics, and due process, USF witnesses would have to teach them.

Forced to conduct its investigation in the light of day, the Johns Committee lost some of its force of intimidation. President Allen and the USF members of the AAUP made their cooperation with the committee contingent on a set of parameters: witnesses could only be questioned on matters of legitimate public interest; interrogations were to be held on the USF campus and tape recorded using university equipment; witnesses could receive a written copy of their testimony and have legal counsel; and, information would not be released to the public without the consensual agreement of faculty and the university. President Allen informed USF students and faculty of these conditions in a public forum on 21 May, stressing "If you feel you are being unfairly questioned in any way, you may refuse to answer, and I would appreciate it if you would inform me of any such unfair questioning." [11]

The Johns Committee held formal hearings on the USF campus from 23 May to 7 June 1962. The weekend before the hearings began students protested with signs around campus and advertised a "short course in book burning."[12] A number of students volunteered to testify before the Committee, many reading prepared statements in defense of their university and the principles of academic freedom. One student, the son of a professor, began his testimony by questioning the Johns Committee's claim that it was on campus to clarify issues that had been stirred up by local citizens. He reminded the Committee that its mandate only allowed for investigations of people suspected of advocating the violent overthrow of the government, and alleged homosexuals. This exchange led the committee's spokesman to ask, "... have you come here to interrogate us, or to give us information?"[13]

When Fisher was called to testify before the committee she put off the meeting for one hour and phoned Ed Cutler, a local attor-

11. Steve Raymond, "Politics Denied In USF Probe," *Tampa Tribune*, 22 May 1962; Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida," 136-138.
12. Fred Smith, "Politics Denied In USF Row," *Tampa Tribune*, 20 May 1962.
13. Testimony-Tampa 6/1/62, pp. 1428-1433, file 14, box 5, Florida Legislative Investigation Committee S1486, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

USF President John Allen enters the Florida Senate to address members of both chambers in defense of the university. Accompanying Allen are Rep. Woodie Liles, Sen. Tom Whitaker, and Legislative Aide Andy Garcia. *Courtesy of the State Archives of Florida.*

ney who had consulted with the AAUP and USF officials, for advice. She specifically wanted to ask about professional rules of confidentiality. Cutler suggested that Fisher put those questions before the committee members, educate them about professional procedures, and refuse to discuss particular details concerning individuals in counsel. For everything else, he advised her to "Use your natural talent, obfuscate." As Fisher remembered her preparation for the interrogation she added, "I'd thought that Ed Cutler's scenario for the Johns Committee was highly plausible. I thought I could snow 'em."[14]

Two of the most heated controversies that emerged during the USF investigation involved professors whose work fell

14. Fisher interview with author, 18 August 2004.

beyond the pale of Pork Chopper ideology.[15] In June President Allen rescinded his nomination to hire Professor D.F. Fleming, a scholar of considerable accomplishment whose work included an analysis entitled *The Cold War and Its Origins.* Fleming asked the AAUP to investigate the case, and, upon completion of its inquiry, the organization censored USF for its actions. In August the university hired Dr. Sheldon Grebstein as Assistant Professor of English. The fall term had barely begun when Charley Johns obtained a copy of one of the articles Grebstein had assigned, "The Know-Nothing Bohemians," by Norman Podhoretz. The article, which contained some mild profanity, was actually a critique of beat literature but this did not stop Johns from contacting the Board of Control of Higher Education in Florida (BOC) and demanding that it pressure President Allen to fire Grebstein. Allen suspended the English professor and ignited a statewide revolt. Florida AAUP chapters, the AAUW, the Florida Library Association, and alumni groups from the University of Florida (UF) and Florida State University (FSU) condemned the action. President Gordon Blackwell joined with the FSU faculty senate in protest, and prominent faculty there warned they would leave the state unless academic freedom was protected. The fear that had dominated Florida campuses during the homophobic witchhunts gave way to a sense of anger; academic freedom was an issue that intellectuals were not afraid to support.[16]

The USF investigation and the recent controversies underscored the necessity for a set of guidelines to assist professors called before the Johns Committee. In November 1962 the Florida AAUP organized a committee to study faculty members' legal rights regarding legislative investigations. In July 1963 the resulting Committee on Academic Privileges and Legal Rights released a two-page publication that included six recommendations to faculty regarding individual rights and protections afforded by law.

1. The authorizing statute of the legislative committee

15. "Pork Choppers" refers to the group of politicians in Florida from the northern, rural counties who maintained majority control in the Senate and, thus, control of Florida politics for most of the twentieth century, even though they represented a minority of the state population. Charley Johns was a key member of the group.
16. Schnur, "Cold Warriors," 12-13.

enabled individuals, if approached, to refrain from answering any questions posed by an agent of the committee.

2. One was entitled under law to decline an invitation to appear before the committee.
3. Legal counsel should be obtained before one responded to a subpoena to appear before the committee. Full judicial procedures provided a method of challenging the validity of the subpoena.
4. Those who appeared before the committee could decline to answer questions. Only under lawful procedure could the committee compel answers to questions.
5. Faculty members were encouraged to contact the AAUP Committee on Academic Privileges and Legal Rights immediately at first contact with the investigative committee.
6. Faculty members should cooperate with the investigative committee only when all conditions of investigation were in full accord with due process of law.[17]

By the time the AAUP published its recommendations for faculty the Johns Committee's questioning of university personnel had come to an end but, in response to issues stirred up by the committee, the BOC reasserted its authority. In a September 1962 report the Board noted that most of the "problems" the Johns Committee noted at USF were already under scrutiny. Further, it underscored the point that "the Board of Control is the proper body to receive, investigate, and take action upon any and all complaints directed toward or against the institutions under its authority."[18] A special committee recommended that the BOC take aggressive action to disseminate its policy on homosexuality and Communist teaching, and see that institutions follow the policy by taking immediate action whenever cases arose. It also suggested that the BOC adopt new policies to require universities to develop plans regarding approval of teaching materials and pedagogy as it related to religious beliefs.[19]

17. "AAUP News Digest," 29 July 1963, pp. 1-2, file 3, box 2, Egerton Papers, Special Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa.
18. "Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Control," 14 September 1962, p. 5, file 2, box 1, Florida Legislative Investigation Committee S1486.
19. Ibid., 1-5.

Alarmingly, although the Johns Committee apparently had ended its investigation of universities (it *was* running out of universities to investigate), the BOC, a permanent State entity had absorbed its agenda. Professors united in protest against the State's extended attack on academic freedom. The FSU physics faculty captured the intensity of the affront leveled against Florida's institutions of higher learning in a statement prepared in November 1962:

> We condemn the interference of the Legislative Investigating Committee in the academic affairs of the Universities. We are shocked by the submission by the Board of Control to the attacks of the Committee.... The responsibility for defense of our freedom finally devolves upon us, the faculty. We declare that we will not collaborate in the destruction of our University.[20]

By the end of the year the BOC and faculty at the state's public universities had agreed upon a compromise "Statement of Policy on Academic Freedom and Responsibilities." Much of the original BOC rhetoric was toned down, especially in regard to curricular and pedagogical concerns that were, in the end, left to the discretion of the individual professor. But the BOC retained the admonition that universities consider "general character" and "moral conduct" in hiring faculty and admitting students. And, in particular, the BOC enjoined university administrators to "continue to guard against activities subversive to the American democratic processes and against immoral behavior, such as sex deviation."[21]

Even as the faculty and the AAUP struggled to protect their academic freedom, another organization, the AAUW mobilized a powerful counterforce against the Johns Committee—they investigated the state investigators! Recalling the efforts of Tampa AAUW President Betty Hohnadel, Tampa AAUW Chair of Higher Education Helen Paul, USF counselor Dr. Lucille Foutz, Daytona

20. "A statement addressed to our colleagues at the Florida State University by seventeen members of the faculty of the Department of Physics assembled on 1 November 1962," p. 2, file 16, box 2, Florida Legislative Investigation Committee S1486.

21. "Statement of Policy on Academic Freedom and Responsibilities," 7 December 1962, p. 3, file 2, box 1, Florida Legislative Investigation Committee S1486.

Beach journalist Mabel Chesley, State Representative Beth Johnson, and others, Margaret Fisher concluded: "It was the women who really moved in on the Johns Committee."[22] There is reason to suspect that Fisher, herself, was a motivating factor in the AAUW's decision to act. According to the Tampa Branch AAUW minutes, the group accepted Fisher into local membership at its 5 June 1962 meeting, less than a week after her testimony before the Johns Committee. At the same meeting the branch initiated a study on mass propaganda. In addition, Fisher became the USF delegate to the national AAUW Council of Deans.[23]

Margaret Fisher came to Tampa in 1960 as Director of Student Activities and was a member of the charter faculty of USF. During her tenure she served the university as Dean of Women, Assistant to the Vice-President of Student Affairs, and Professor of Interdisciplinary Social and Behavioral Sciences. Following graduation from the University of Texas in 1939, Fisher began an eleven-year stint with the YWCA that included administrative positions in San Francisco, Texas, and at the University of Oklahoma. After completing doctoral studies at Columbia University in philosophical foundations of education, Fisher combined administrative work with teaching at the University of Buffalo and Mills College. She then took a position as Assistant to the President, and later, Coordinator of Student Personal Services at Hampton Institute. Fisher came to USF directly from a position in the U.S. Office of Education.

Fisher's educational trajectory and scholarship provide evidence of an uncommon intelligence and perceptiveness that have made her insights into the Johns Committee's assault on higher education quite valuable. She authored *Leadership and Intelligence* (1954), based on her work at Columbia on Karl Mannheim's theory of the intellectual elite; co-authored *College Education as Personal Development* (1960) with Jeanne L. Noble; and wrote *The Vision of a Contemporary University* (1982) with Russell M. Cooper. In the latter work Cooper and Fisher explained the "All University Approach" that distinguished USF's mission. The USF community consciously strove to put the learning-teaching process at the

22. Fisher interview with author, 18 August 2004.
23. Interview notes, 1 July 2005, p. 3; AAUW Minutes, 5 June 1962, AAUW Tampa Records, Special Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa. AAUW designates local organizations as "branches" rather than chapters.

center of university life in an interwoven, holistic fashion that integrated general, interdisciplinary study with specialization, teaching with service, the university with its larger community, and life with work. When the innovative university in Tampa attracted the detrimental attention of the Johns Committee, then, it was an especially painful blow to the institution and it provoked a strong defense. In a 1985 interview, Fisher noted that the AAUW, "in particular, came out with fire in their eyes."[24]

The Tampa AAUW Higher Education committee began a series of meetings upon the release of the Johns Committee report on the USF investigation in fall 1962. The following February local president Hohnadel reported that the state AAUW had formed a committee to investigate the standing of academic freedom at the universities in Florida; Lucille Foutz, who had come to USF from Gainesville, served on that committee. The local AAUW record also documented a series of joint meetings between the Higher Education and Legislative committees.[25] Records indicate that the trajectory of the AAUW's tactical action against the Johns Committee began with the Tampa branch, centralized at the state level, and then spread throughout the state via the 29 branches of the organization.

In November 1962 Carol Scott wrote USF President John Allen on behalf of the Florida AAUW, inquiring as to how the organization could best support the university. She explained, "Through our branches about the state we reach women who would be glad to help our universities gain freedom from meddling by legislative committees."[26] Allen put Scott in contact with John Egerton, Director of the USF News Bureau, who was doing all he could to marshal an organized attack against the Johns Committee. In January 1963 Scott reported to Egerton that she had submitted an

24. Margaret B. Fisher, interview by Nancy Hewitt, Tampa, USF Silver Anniversary Oral History Project, 7 August 1985, p. 8. University of South Florida, Florida Studies Center, Oral History Program, http://www.lib.usf.edu/cgi-bin/Ebind2h3.pl/U14_011. See also, Margaret Fisher, *Leadership and Intelligence* (New York: Teachers College, 1954); Margaret B. Fisher and Jeanne L. Noble, *College Education as Personal Development* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1960); and, Russell M. Cooper and Margaret B. Fisher, *The Vision of a Contemporary University: A Case Study of Expansion and Development in American Higher Education, 1950-1975* (Tampa: University Presses of Florida, 1982).

25. AAUW Minutes, 4 October 1962; 7 February 1963, AAUW Tampa Records.

26. Carol Scott to John Allen, 18 November 1962, file 16, box 2, Egerton Papers.

article to the AAUW bulletin, alerting members statewide to the current crisis regarding academic freedom and the importance of retaining professors of the highest caliber in Florida institutions of higher learning. She encouraged each of the local branches to take up a study of the issue and lobby state legislators—individually and collectively—through the branches. Scott went on to inform Egerton that the AAUW State Board had passed a motion calling for a committee to investigate the extent to which the Johns Committee had violated principles of academic freedom; that the committee keep Governor Farris Bryant and all 29 AAUW branches in Florida apprised of its findings, and prepare a report for the May 1963 AAUW convention.[27] On 7 February 1963 Mrs. R. George Swift, Chair of the AAUW Higher Education Committee, wrote to Egerton requesting copies of Mabel Chesley's *Daytona Beach* series on the Johns Committee. She indicated that the editorials would "provide a point of beginning for a state-wide study of Johns Committee activities," and noted that the AAUW intended to distribute copies to all Florida branches.[28] On 24 April the Academic Freedom Committee of the Florida AAUW formally asked the Florida legislature to abolish the Johns Committee because of its attack on academic freedom. After the Florida Division of the AAUW voted to petition the Florida legislature to abolish the Johns Committee on 4 May 1963, Tampa President Hohnadel sent a copy of the motion to Representative Terrell Sessums, adding, "Do you realize what the Johns [Committee] has done to Tampa—educationally, and economically? It will be a long time before the damage has been erased."[29]

The women of the AAUW pulled no punches in their "Study of Aspects of Academic Freedom and of Legislative Investigation of Florida Universities." The four-and-one-half page "Report and Resolution" is a powerful, well-written document. At the outset authors of the resolution established the legitimacy of their investigation: AAUW policy required that members represent universities that "in no case sacrifice the moral function and individual

27. Carol Scott to John Egerton, 13 January 1963, file 12, box 2, Egerton Papers.
28. Mrs. Swift to John Egerton, 7 February 1963, file 12, box 2, Egerton Papers.
29. Betty Hohnadel to Terrell Sessums, file 1, box 25, Terrell Sessums Papers, Special Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa; AAUW Minutes, 4 April 1963, AAUW Tampa Records; Academic Freedom Committee AAUW to Florida Legislature, 24 April 1963, file 15, box 2, Egerton Papers.

integrity of its faculty and staff to any economic, political, or doctrinal end."[30] The resolution included a working definition of academic freedom that encompassed the right of students to a dynamic intellectual climate, the right of teachers to select and present course materials in accordance with the ethics and integrity of their disciplines, the right of administrators to maintain an intellectual environment, and the right of executive boards to "*hold in trust for the public community its right to education untrammeled by political expediency, factional censorship, or doctrinal insistence.*"[31]

The authors of the resolution went on to present the results of their investigation of the Johns Committee, comparing its actions to actual authority granted by the legislature. The AAUW charged that the Johns Committee violated the terms of its charter by suborning witnesses, editing testimony, relying on hearsay evidence, intimidating witnesses, frightening (student) witnesses by the quasi-judicial trappings of the committee, taking secret testimony, acting in the dual capacity of prosecutor and judge, and coercing witnesses. Further, the Johns Committee had judged morals and ethics according to its own definitions, "smeared" individuals with charges of homosexuality, assumed the right to search for communists, reported directly to the public press rather than to the legislature, and "created a circus atmosphere inimical to the peace and dignity of the state...highly inimical to the dignity of the educational process...."[32] The AAUW charged the Johns Committee with coercing the BOC and claiming authority over the university, making USF vulnerable to national disgrace that would threaten public faith in the institution as well as its Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) accreditation. The AAUW acted on its findings by calling for the discontinuation of the Johns Committee and asking the legislature for a clear delimitation of the extent to which morality, ethics, and religious beliefs may be controlled by the state; a review of the methods employed by the Johns Committee; an audit of public money expended by the committee; and a consideration of the political and doctrinal motivation for investigative action. Finally, the AAUW underscored the right of the academic community to set its own standards, subject to review of the BOC and SACS. [33]

30. AAUW "Report and Resolution," Egerton Papers, Box 2, File 2.
31. Ibid., 1. Emphasis in the original.
32. Ibid., 2-3.
33. Ibid., 4-5.

Margaret Fisher believed that many of the women who challenged the Johns Committee were driven by a well-deserved pride in their new university, itself founded on a shared commitment to liberal arts education based on interdisciplinary principles. They maintained a positive perspective, "trumpeting the fact here that USF was a damn good university that had taken the lead in academic freedom and responsibility."[34] Indeed, an analysis of the AAUW's action puts it squarely in line with observations that Florida women "possessed a vision of the meaning of social and legal justice and equality, sensible government and public policy."[35] Indeed, Fisher suggested that the Tampa women's activism was not anything out of the ordinary, and observed that the women of the AAUW had always been "highly skilled in practical judgment and in concerted study and action." They engaged in a free, open, responsible, and affirming type of politics.[36] Quite simply, the women of the Florida AAUW "did not expect universities to have to put up with the Charley Johns-es."[37]

The battle over authority in the academy played out in a broader climate of anti-intellectualism, and not all women supported the AAUW position. In Hillsborough and Pinellas counties, the controversy of academic freedom was especially inflammatory. Jane Smith, one of the parents of USF students who had enjoined the Johns Committee to investigate the institution, remained in the eye of the stormy controversy. According to notes that John Egerton took at a citizen's meeting in Plant City in December 1962, Mrs. Smith reminded the audience of Governor Bryant's position that academic freedom was not "a license." According to Egerton's notes Smith denied claims that her group wanted to prescribe thought or action for others but then added, if children were to remain "American and Christian" something must be done. Smith suggested that citizens watch, be discerning, and pray.[38] In a 30-page document to preserve the facts of the USF showdown as she remembered them, Smith revealed the underlying concern that fueled her assault on academic freedom: "We

34. Fisher interview with author, 18 August 2004.
35. Davis, *Making Waves*, "Introduction," 1.
36. Fisher interview with author, 18 August 2004.
37. Ibid.
38. Egerton's notes, file 5, box 1, Egerton Papers.

Following the USF investigation the Florida Legislature extended the life of the Johns Committee and awarded it a $155,000 budget. From left: Jane Smith, FLIC counsel Mark Hawes, and members of the Committee: Rep. William O'Neill and Sen. Charley Johns. *Courtesy of the State Archives of Florida.*

know that as the student goes, so goes the nation; hence, our grave concern over the teachings they receive."[39]

On 10 April 1963 the Women's Republican Club of St. Petersburg adopted a resolution in support of the Johns Committee in anticipation of the upcoming legislative vote on extending the life of the committee. Club members, in fact, urged their legislators to award the committee permanent status. Among other points in their resolution, the women argued that "anguished appeals to 'academic freedom'...seem chiefly to serve academic self-interest"; that one "hired to form the minds of the young...ought not to bemoan 'methods' when the Committee asks him an embarrassing question which he has invited by his own questionable conduct"; and that teachers, "being on the public payroll, deserve 'academic freedom' only to the extent that they use it in the public interest as determined by the public."[40] Apparently, what these citizens meant was that academic freedom should not be maintained at all, even if they were reluctant to say

39. Mrs. Stockton Smith, June 1962 document, p. 2, file 5, box 1, Egerton Papers.
40. "Resolution: The Women's Republican Club of St. Petersburg, Florida," 1 April 1, 1963, file 1, box 25, Terrell Sessums Papers. The Women's Club adopted a second resolution that day, asking Governor Bryant not to declare a ceremonial United Nations day.

so explicitly. A few days earlier Wayne Thomas, Jr., President of the Plant City Conservative Club, released a document encouraging club members to request copies of the Johns Committee report on its USF investigation. Thomas quoted Charley Johns in the one-page letter.

> Our Committee is not against Academic freedom except where they teach our children atheism, softness on communism and request that our children read these obscene books that are not decent for you or me to read....[41]

Johns went on to describe "the hand writing on the wall as to what is going to happen in this country if the brain washing of our children at our colleges and universities is not stopped.... Khrushchev's time table is going to become a reality."[42] Thomas, for his part, reinforced the familiar themes and echoed Jane Smith's call for action: "When you consider that our children some day may be exposed to some of the atheistic, immoral, gutter trash, presented under the mantle of 'education' and presented by professors who believe in neither God nor a moral code, then *someone* had better take some action."[43]

Constituents who wrote Representative Terrell Sessums in April and May 1963 argued for and against the continuation of the Johns Committee. Those who supported the committee agreed that it could be a "powerful influence for good in the schools, especially in providing teachers who are *not* atheists..." They relied on the committee to "protect us from the growing communist peril." One writer quoted Proverbs 17:13 in the header of the letter: "Whoso rewardeth evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house." This writer voiced concern that subversive activities would increase since the United States had "emasculated" the sedition laws of the states. Another writer supporting the Johns Committee warned that the United Nations was a "trap for America" and a "Green light for the Communist & her Sattalits [sic]." A more moderate FLIC supporter admitted, "At times perhaps we might question their methods but I *can never doubt* their *motives*."[44] Jane

41. Johns, quoted in Wayne Thomas, Jr., "To Members of the Plant City Conservative Club," 4 April 1963, file 5, box 1, Egerton Papers.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
44. Letters dated 27 April 1963, 3 May 1963, 4 May 1963, n.d., 27 April 1963, file 1, box 25, Terrell Sessums Papers.

Smith sent Representative Sessums a copy of her report on the USF investigation. In a handwritten note that accompanied the report, she took off the gloves where academic freedom was concerned.

> Do I want my sons and daughters *indoctrinated* in the belief that there exists no right or wrong, no morality or immorality, no God, that family life has failed, that premarital relations are good, that homo-sexuality [sic] is fine? And then told, in the name of academic freedom it's none of your business? If they (AAUP) are to have unlimited freedom, then I say the parents should have unlimited freedom, even if it means seeing the professors—flattened on the floor![45]

Sessums sent respectful letters of reply to his Hillsborough County constituents, explaining why he was opposed to the continuation of the Johns Committee. He was one of 14 representatives who voted against extension of the committee in 1963. But by that point, lawmakers who opposed the Johns Committee knew that support for their position was building. Certainly, by 1962 the Johns Committee was beginning to overreach itself. Its attacks against the NAACP as well as those against gay and lesbian teachers were rooted in, and clear expressions of, the entrenched racist beliefs and unquestioned homophobia that dominated southern culture. When the Committee attacked academic freedom, however, it aroused the academy and related professional organizations—institutions controlled by the powerful elite.

By the end of May 1963, despite public pressure to end the reign of the Johns Committee and the first significant House debate, it was apparent that the legislature would pass the bill to carry the investigative committee through another biennial term, and Governor Bryant would sign it. Even though the Johns Committee got new life its public image was severely weakened. In a backhanded admission of its tenuous status, the newly constituted Committee acknowledged that it was not engaged in a popularity contest, and that it would not pursue its agenda without criticism. In a memorandum to fellow members of the 1963

45. Jane Smith to Terrell Sessums, file 2, box 25, Terrell Sessums Papers. 46. Morgan, 24 July 1962, file 12, box 2, Egerton Papers; "Informal Report #1," 16 September 1963, pp. 2-4, file 1, box 25, Sessums Papers.

Florida Legislature, the Johns Committee tried to counter what it described as "the often unfair picture of the Committee's activities" with a pledge that, as an investigative arm of the Legislature, they would cooperate with law enforcement agencies but not become enforcers themselves.[46]

The new, contrite form contradicted earlier arguments supporters of the Johns Committee used to campaign for an extension of the charter during the spring legislative debate. Then Committee members had argued that it was vital to state interests to continue with its investigations because it was better equipped for "catching" homosexuals in schools and colleges than regular law enforcement agencies. In response, Representative Robert E. Knowles charged, "This is not a legislative committee any more, it's a police committee."[47] The combined efforts of the AAUP and the AAUW, in effect, forced the Johns Committee to drop its assault on academic freedom and revert back to the part of its agenda that had sustained it in 1959. In 1963 the Committee began its final biennial term in a defensive posture, ridiculed by some as "the Legislative Police Bureau on Homosexuality."[48]

From that point on the Johns Committee was routed at nearly every turn: losses in the U.S. and Florida Supreme Courts; a frame-up that backfired; the public outrage that accompanied its 1964 publication of the "purple pamphlet" on "Homosexuality and Citizenship in Florida." The ultimate demise of the Committee in 1965 was, clearly, the result of many factors, but the women of the Tampa AAUW were significant, able workers in the construction of the watershed that marked the decline of the Committee. Or, as Margaret Fisher put it, "It was the women who really moved in on the Johns Committee."[49]

The action of the AAUW during the "raucous and carnival invasion" of 1962 was qualitatively different from the efforts of the AAUP at that time.[50] These differences cannot be explained simply along gender lines, as the strong support that Jane Smith and

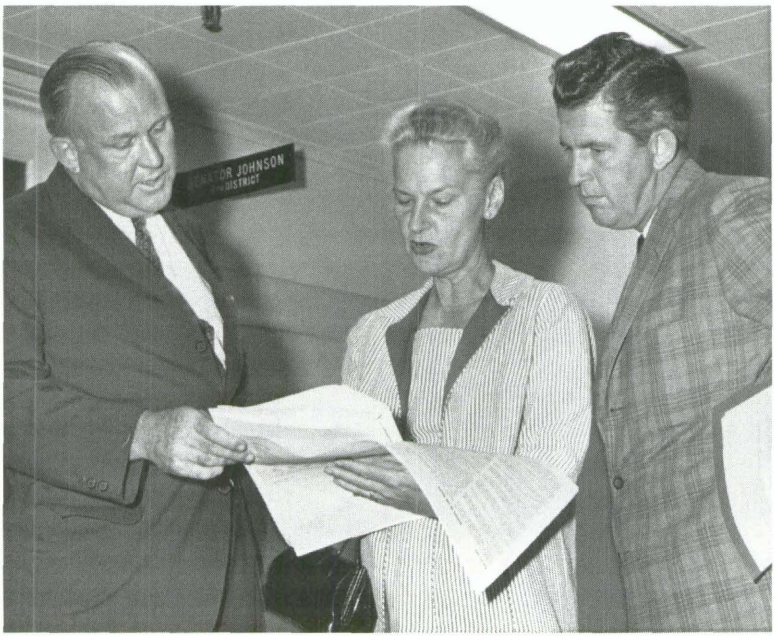
46. Morgan, 24 July 1962, file 12, box 2, Egerton Papers; "Informal Report #1," 16 September 1963, pp. 2-4, file 1, box 25, Sessums Papers.
47. Knowles quoted in "Put It in Uniform," *The Tampa Tribune*, 27 May 1963.
48. "Put It in Uniform," *The Tampa Tribune*, 27 May 1963.
49. Fisher interview with author, 18 August 2004.
50. "Report and Resolution: Tampa Area AAUW Study of Aspects of Academic Freedom and of Legislative Investigation of Florida Universities," pp. 4-5, file 2, box 2, Egerton Papers.

the Women's Republican Club of St. Petersburg provided to the Johns Committee attests. Certainly, both the AAUP and the AAUW took important steps on behalf of intellectuals under attack, but a comparison of the two organizations yields some interesting observations.

The AAUP held the defense of academic freedom as its primary objective. It provided legal assistance to individual professors and administrators called to testify before the Committee, a point that should not be underestimated. But the faculty organization soon retrenched to the less combative positions of dissemination of legal advice and rhetorical skirmishes. Five months after the USF hearings the AAUP established a committee to study the rights of professors vis-à-vis investigating committees. Eight months after that the AAUP released its list of legal guidelines for professors. More than a year after the Johns Committee rode out of town the AAUP advised its members that they could refuse to answer questions or appear before the Committee, unless subpoenaed; in the event of a subpoena, they should seek legal counsel. The AAUP adamantly proclaimed that due process of law must be followed; beyond that, the advice seemed to be to cooperate with the Committee. When the Board of Control reasserted its authority and, in effect, wrote the Johns Committee's broad concerns into policy, professors mounted a challenge and won a few concessions.

The response of the AAUP was characteristic of liberal professional organizations. By not protesting too stridently, the organization maintained its place within the network of educational agencies in order to protect individual rights in a time of crisis. It relied on a favored mode of operation—establishing committees to prepare for encounters with Committees—to guard the sanctity of due process of law. Throughout the crisis, the AAUP failed to challenge the Johns Committee directly. To be sure, the AAUP battled for authority in the academy and fought for the principle of academic freedom. Wielding rhetoric and due process of law it provided aid for individuals called to testify in 1962 and did what it could to guard against dangerous erosions in policy after the fact. As Woodward observed more generally, these tactics proved effective, to a certain degree. To have pushed further would have jeopardized the security of the AAUP regarding its place at the higher education table.

The AAUW, on the other hand confronted the Johns Committee directly. The attack on academic freedom at USF



A year after the Johns Committee investigation of USF, Senators discuss the possibility of shifting control of state universities from the state cabinet to a Board of Regents. Senator Beth Johnson is joined here by Senators John E. Mathews and Mack N. Cleveland. Johnson, the first woman to serve in the Florida Senate (1962-67), was a member of the House of Representatives from 1957 to 1962. *Courtesy of the State Archives of Florida.*

served as the catalyst for their attempts to shut down the Committee. They also established committees in the fall of 1962, but whereas the AAUP committees worked on defense, the AAUW hammered out an offensive strategy. The AAUW, as Fisher noted, engaged in *concerted study and action*—analyzing the Johns Committee's digression from its mandate, detailing its multiple abuses of power, getting the word out through branches across the state, lobbying legislators, petitioning the governor, pressing for an audit of the Committee's use of funds, and calling for the end of the Committee. At the end of the 1963 campaign, however, the determined effort of the AAUW had fallen short of its target. If the AAUP's impact had been negligible, it appeared as if the AAUW approach had failed altogether. The Johns Committee was still in business.

It is not entirely clear why the women of the AAUW were more focused on the objective of dismantling the Johns Committee and

less cautious than their colleagues in the AAUP. Obviously, some women belonged to both organizations, but what made the organizational strategies—and objectives— so different? One could argue that the AAUW with its club status had less to lose than the AAUP with its more traditional access to leveraging power in the academy. One could observe, with Margaret Fisher, that the AAUW was calling upon a well-established tradition in women's organizations in selecting their political strategy. Whatever the reasons, the AAUW's confrontation with the Johns Committee provides one more example of twentieth-century Florida women "at the cutting edge of reform." They were, according to Jack Davis, "champions of progress," in a manner and style that differed from male power brokers.[51] And they knew how to carry on in the face of defeat.

When John Egerton wrote Carol Scott to thank her for the AAUW's "extraordinary efforts in seeking to bring the Legislature to a realization of its responsibilities..." he added, "The fact that this effort has failed does not in any sense detract from your hard work or our appreciation of it."[52] Scott responded that she did not feel as bad about the outcome as Egerton. "If the television report was correct the committee has been returned to its original investigative intent: communism and homosexuality. What we in the Academic Freedom subcommittee were working for was just that—keeping it out of literature classes and out of the investigation of religious beliefs of faculty....Surely, no one was so naïve as to think the committee would be dissolved."[53] Perhaps. Perhaps the fight for academic freedom—and that alone—was the only realistic option in 1963. But the fact remains that two years later the Committee *was* dissolved. Among the educational organizations that crossed the path of the Johns Committee, only the women of the AAUW had had the audacity to call for that very thing, naïve or not.

51. Davis, "Introduction," 8.
52. Egerton to Scott, 31 May 1963, file 13, box 2, Egerton Papers.
53. Scott to Egerton, 2 June 1963, file 15, box 2, Egerton Papers.

Henry S. Harmon: Pioneer African American Attorney in Reconstruction-era Florida

By Darius J. Young

The civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century highlighted the key role played by African American attorneys in events of critical importance, but the actions and impact of black lawyers during and immediately following the Reconstruction era have received considerably less attention. As recently as 2000, the *Florida Bar Journal* asserted that "African-Americans ha[ve] been lawyers since the late 1890s, when the multi-talented James Weldon Johnson passed an open exam conducted by three lawyers in a crowded Jacksonville courtroom." As it happens, the *Bar Journal* erred by a generation in its assertion; black attorneys had practiced law since 1869 when Henry S. Harmon raised his hand to accept admission to the bar at Gainesville.[1]

To be sure, historians have recognized the presence of black attorneys, but, with a few exceptions, the scarcity of sources has prevented in-depth analysis of individual practitioners of the law and their pursuit of justice during a crucial time in southern and Florida history. J. Clay Smith, Jr.'s 1993 volume *Emancipation: The Making of a Black Lawyer, 1884-1944* offers the single, most helpful overview by introducing some of the key men who stood at the bar

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Darius J. Young is a History Ph.D. candidate at the University of Memphis. He wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Canter Brown, Jr., David H. Jackson, Jr., Titus Brown, Sylvester Johnson, and Larry E. Rivers in preparing this article.

1. Gary Blankenship, "The Story of the Florida Bar," *Florida Bar Journal* 74 (April 2000), 22.

during the period. Peter D. Klingman explored Josiah T. Wall's legal and legislative career in his biography *Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction.* Florida State University master's student, Gary Goodwin focused his 1996 thesis on Joseph E. Lee of Jacksonville. James C. Clark's 1989 article on John Wallace incorporated references and insights into legal practices even though Wallace's own Reconstruction-era history, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* does not. In another autobiography, James Weldon Johnson detailed his personal journey and provided important insights into African American life at century's end in his book *Along This Way.* Two books that offer important contextual material on the role of blacks in state government and the development of Florida's court system are Canter Brown, Jr.'s *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1924* and Walter W. Manley, Canter Brown, and Eric W. Rise, *The Supreme Court of Florida and Its Predecessor Courts.*[2]

Unexplored in the secondary literature are the roles of ordinary African American attorneys whose experiences in post-Civil War Florida did not mimic those of such illustrious personages as Josiah T. Walls, Joseph E. Lee, John Wallace, and James Weldon Johnson. In many respects the experiences of a man such as Henry Harmon more nearly reflected those of his colleagues and

2. J. Clay Smith, *Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1884-1877* (Philadelphia, Pa: 1993); Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville, Fla:, 1976); Gary Goodwin, "Josiah E. Lee of Jacksonville, 1880-1920: African American Leadership in Florida" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1996); James C. Clark, "John Wallace and the Writing of Reconstruction History,"*Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (April 1989): 409-27; John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida After the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, Fla: 1888; reprint ed., Kennesay, Ga., 1959); James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (New York: 1933; reprint ed., New York, 1990); Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1924* (Tuscaloosa, Ala: University of Alabama Press, 1998); Walter W. Manley II, Canter Brown, Jr., and Eric W. Rise, *The Supreme Court of Florida and Its Predecessor Courts, 1821-1917* (Gainesville, Fla: University Press of Florida, 1997). For scholarship on African American attorneys who practiced law more recently, see Maxine D. Jones and Kevin M. McCarthy, *African Americans in Florida* (Sarasota, Fla: 1993); Wendy S. Loquasto, comp., *150—Celebrating Florida's First 150 Women Lawyers* (Tallahassee, 2000); Juan Williams, *Thurgood Marshall: An American Revolutionary* (New York, 1998); Constance Baker Motley, *Equal Justice Under the Law* (New York, 1998); Robert W. Saunders, Sr., *Bridging the Gap: Continuing the Florida NAACP Legacy of Harry T. Moore, 1952-1966* (Tampa, 2000); and Larry O. Rivers, *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University College of Law (1949-2000)* (Tallahassee, 2000).

peers. His struggles to gain admission to the bar; his role in national, state and local politics; and the controversies that dogged his personal life illustrate the opportunities and barriers that marked the transition of Florida's black community from slavery to freedom, and from enfranchisement to Jim Crow. Thus a careful examination of Harmon's career offers insight and understanding of the parameters of professional life previously unavailable.

Henry Harmon's life began far distant from the scene of his professional career. He came into the world at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1839, the son of Timothy and Robinet Harmon. His parents apparently fled slavery in Virginia at some time prior to his birth and made the City of Brotherly Love their home for the remainder of their lives. Among other odd jobs, Timothy worked as a waiter to support his family. Robinet remained at home and reared Henry through his adolescence. Subsequent events suggest that his parents took care to ensure a proper education for their son. The distinguished Florida-born journalist T. Thomas Fortune later described Harmon as "very intelligent and alert," while John Wallace referred to him as a "[man] of education." At least some of his instruction likely came at Philadelphia's Institute for Colored Youth, the same institution that Joseph E. Lee would attend a decade later. In any event Timothy and Robinet proved to be caring parents who instilled morals and values that would contribute to their only child's success later in life.[3]

Although records concerning Harmon's youth remain elusive, a sense of the environment within which he matured can be gleaned from a variety of sources. Philadelphia hosted the nation's largest free-black community, and sophisticated institutions, including the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) founded by abolitionist Richard Allen, originated in that city. The American Anti-Slavery Society, headed by William Lloyd Garrison, first convened there in 1833, as did one of the first female anti-slavery societies. On the other hand, Philadelphia's brotherly love generally existed as an abstract concept, especially with regard to the conflict between the city's growing Irish immigrant population and local black residents. Blacks endured repeated incidents of

3. Manuscript returns, 1840, 1850, 1860, *United States Decennial Census*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (population schedules); *Norfolk* (Va.) *Journal and Guide*, 22 October 1927; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 84; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, 24 November 1881.

racial violence, and widespread rioting roiled the city on several occasions. Racism and racial tensions opened the young Henry Harmon's eyes to an unjust world that he would attempt to reform in his adult years.[4]

Whatever else Philadelphia and his parents provided to shape Henry's character, he matured possessed of a burning desire to free his fellow men, a resolution that led him to volunteer for military service in the Union army during the Civil War. On August 3, 1863, he enlisted in the Third Regiment, United States Colored Infantry (USCI), one of the first all-black units authorized to serve in the conflict—by the end of the year, he had advanced to the rank of sergeant. The Third's men fought admirably in battles at forts Wagner and Gregg on the South Carolina coast. Claiming for his regiment a portion of the credit that accrued to the famed 54th Massachusetts Regiment in those engagements, Harmon wrote, "In those trenches our men distinguished themselves for bravery and coolness, which required more nerve than the exciting bayonet charge." He added, "We expect some warm work here before long, but with the help of the God of battles, who knows the justice of our cause, we hope to go through without wavering, and though many of us must find graves in this land, I feel assured that the name of the colored soldier will stand out in bold relief among the heroes of this war."[5]

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4. Larry Eugene Rivers, "He Treats His Fellow Man Properly: Building Community in a Multi-Cultural Florida" in *Amid Political, Cultural and Civic Diversity: Building a Sense of Statewide Community in Florida*, ed. By Lance DeHaven-Smith and David Colburn (Dubuque, IA, 1998), 111-25. On the origins and development of Philadelphia's African American community, see Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (Cambridge, Mass, 1991); Roger Lane, *Roots of Violence in Black Philadelphia, 1860-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986).

5. "Henry S. Harmon" in *Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Solders Who Served with United States Colored Troops,* M-589, roll 37, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder,* 26 December 1863, quoted in Edwin S. Redkey, *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York, 1992), 36-37. On the role of African American troops during the Civil War, see George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion* (New York, 1888); Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York, 1956). For additional information on the Third Regiment, USCI, refer to "United States Colored Troops, 3rd Regiment USCI" at www.itd.nps.gov. For first-hand accounts of the activities of the Third USCI, see also Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Boston, 1962); Susie King Taylor, *A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs* (Boston, 1902; reprint ed., New York, 1988).

As a result of his war service—an ordeal and a cause that brought him to Florida in 1864—Harmon developed lasting bonds with many of his fellow soldiers. He particularly enjoyed close relationships with future congressman Josiah T. Walls and future AME bishop Josiah H. Armstrong, respectively of Virginia and Pennsylvania. These men also migrated to Florida and, together with Harmon, played significant roles in shaping the state's postwar politics. Harmon recognized the importance of these relationships and commented on them in letters to his hometown newspaper, the *Christian Recorder*, an AME organ. While updating friends, family, and Philadelphia's black community on his status and the experiences of the Third USCI, he also commented on deeper matters. In a letter detailing a March 1865 expedition up the St. Johns River, he wrote about leadership and race pride. "The expedition reflects great credit on Sergt. Major [Henry] James, for the masterly manner in which it was commanded, and gives further proof that a colored man with proper training can command among his fellows and succeed where others have failed," Harmon observed. "And a great deal is due to the men for their good behavior, and steadiness, and obedience, and if it were not for occupying too much of your space, which I fear I have done already, I would give their names, but that some other time." He concluded, "I am still an ardent lover of my race, and a soldier."[6]

The Civil War's end found Harmon at Gainesville, a small railroad center located about halfway between Fernandina and Cedar Key on the state's only Atlantic to Gulf of Mexico rail link, the Florida Railroad. To readers of the *Christian Recorder*, he offered a sense of the time and place, as well as a window onto his heart and

6. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 72, 135; Redkey, *Grand Army*, 27-83; H. T. Kealing, *History of African Methodism in Texas* (Waco, 1885), 207-209; Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., *Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida, 1865-1895* (Gainesville, 2001), 60-61, 69, 75, 83, 85-86, 89, 91, 101, 109, 119, 185, 189-90; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, 28 May 1864. On the activities of the Third USCI in Florida, see David James Coles, "Far from Fields of Glory: Military Operations in Florida during the Civil War" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1996). Reginald Ellis has explored the importance of relationships formed during the Civil War between Josiah T. Walls, John Wallace, and Thomas De Saliers Tucker. See Reginald Ellis, "Nathan B. Young: Florida A&M College's Second President and His Relationships with White Public Officials" in *Go Sound the Trumpet! Selections in Florida's African American History*, ed. by David H. Jackson, Jr. and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tampa, 2005).

mind. Harmon frequently focused on the unfair treatment black soldiers received in the waning days of the war and its immediate aftermath. In an October 1865 piece written shortly after his arrival in Jacksonville, he voiced frustration that blacks continued to endure cruel punishments from ex-Confederates, declaring that many white Floridians suffered from "the most prevalent and baleful disease, Negrophobia." Harmon also expressed his exasperation over fact that black officers were not permitted to mingle with the city's black residents. The tone of his letters and their appearance in the early postwar era, suggest the origins of his personal commitment to alter Florida's social and political atmosphere and his recognition that at least some of the leadership for change must come from the author himself.[7]

Upon his release from the army, Harmon decided to remain in Gainesville and establish his life and career in that city. On November 23, 1865, he married Sophia Ligon, a local woman. When Harmon met Sophia, while serving as a soldier or after his discharge, remains uncertain. However, the two reportedly seemed well-matched, showing a clear fondness and admiration for one another. Happily for the groom, Sophia came from a privileged background and presumably could provide her politically-minded husband with considerable social cache, and Harmon used the Ligon family relationships with prominent county leaders as well as his own wartime connections to Walls and William Cessna, a white officer, to further his career. Building friendship and kinship networks, Harmon honed the essential political skills he needed to become an Alachua County leader.[8]

As it turned out, Harmon found it necessary to put his political aspirations on hold. Although blacks gained their freedom at the Civil War's conclusion, many obstacles blocked political and social progress for freedmen. In particular, President Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction policies forbade blacks from voting while placing, as one historian observed, "most Southern states back into the hands of secessionists and Confederate sympathizers." Acting to consolidate their power, ex-Confederates instituted laws known as black codes, which "touched virtually every aspect of

7. *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, 21 October 1865.
8. *Savannah Daily News and Herald*, 7 June 1867, 8 April 1868; Alachua County Marriage Records, Book 3 (1865), 34 (available at Alachua County Courthouse, Gainesville); *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, 21 June 1872; Kingman, *Josiah Wells*, 19-21.

[freedmen's] lives, and many African-Americans viewed them as the reinstitution of slavery in all but name."[9]

Many Florida blacks resisted these racist laws and organized against efforts to deprive them of basic human rights. They also sought the assistance of sympathetic whites in presenting black sentiments to the white masses. By speaking out, however, black activists and their friends provoked more than a few white Floridians to rage. Acting on their anger, whites threatened freedmen and increasingly resorted to violence to intimidate blacks who resisted. By summer 1866, violence in Alachua County had escalated to the point that officials implemented martial law.[10]

With the passage of the Military Reconstruction Acts in the spring of 1867 Henry Harmon established himself as a political figure. Drawing on previous affiliations with other black leaders such as Walls, he quickly translated activism into tenure in public office. Within weeks of the implementation of military Reconstruction, Harmon proudly accepted an appointment as one of Alachua County's voter registrars. Blacks had made considerable sacrifices for the right to vote, and he now possessed the influence to see that their sacrifices had not been made in vain. As Harmon gained local recognition for his talents, he embraced the potential of long-term public service.[11]

From his position as a local registrar, Harmon set his sights on higher achievements and advanced onto a broader political stage. In 1868, he and his former regiment brother Josiah Walls embarked on political careers that later would garner national attention. They remained close friends and over the years, and the two men shadowed and supported each other's political ambitions. Their strong alliance, as events would illustrate, proved vital for the success of each man. In the process, both men demanded

9. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 1-6; Rivers, "He Treats His Fellow Man Properly," 111-25; Joe M. Richardson, "Florida's Black Codes," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (January 1977), 365-79.

10. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 50, 90; idem, "Custom, Law and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's "Black Code," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (January 1977), 277-98; Richardson, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 43; idem, "Florida Black Codes," 365-79; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 2-3.

11. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 95. On implementation and administration of Florida's 1867-1868 voter registration system, see Canter Brown, Jr., *Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* (Baton Rouge, 1997), 190-205.

the respect and admiration of their communities and acted courageously to earn it.[12]

On March 7, 1868, Alachua County Republicans convened, with Henry Harmon acting as one of the convention's vice presidents. The novice politician, long with his friend Walls, received the party's nomination for a seat in the Florida House of Representatives. In the following weeks, Harmon proved the trust placed in his candidacy and delivered well-received speeches on behalf of Republican candidates. At a Newnansville rally, a local man recorded, "Harmon made strong speeches endorsing the regular ticket and the [proposed state] Constitution." His appeal to the voters and his ability to make convincing arguments can be measured in the election results. Harmon and Walls scored landslide victories by defeating Samuel Finley and D. McHenry by margins of over a thousand votes each. On June 8, 1868, they entered the Florida legislature for the first time; Harmon would serve in the house from 1868 to 1870.[13]

Unlike his fellow legislators with strong associations to the AME Church, Harmon rarely used his position to endorse or further radical political positions. Rather, he adopted a more practical approach. Most of the bills that he introduced dealt with technical matters of improving the public administration, rather than furthering a social equality. Critics perceived this as a weakness; however, the significance of having a black man in such a respected and influential position cannot be underestimated. Many black Civil War veterans, including Walls and John Wallace, similarly distanced themselves from advocacy of the more controversial social issues during that time. Apparently, as they did, Harmon understood the power that he possessed and believed that speaking out too boldly on racial issues would ruin his chances of seeking higher political office and might place barriers in the paths of future black politicians as well. Instead of provoking whites to ridicule black officeholders or commit violence against black voters, Harmon suppressed his intentions and tackled the administrative issues. His decision invited criticism then and later, but was not unique in politics. Indeed, many insurgents have

12. Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 19-21; *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, 21 June 1872.
13. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 11 March 1868; *Jacksonville Florida Union*, 14 March 1868; Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 20-21.

struggled with the issue of immediate gains versus long-term presence and power.[14]

Election to the 1868 legislature constituted only one step toward fulfillment of Harmon's ambitions, and it likely came after he had furthered other professional plans. Seemingly through years of study and possibly with assistance from a supportive white attorney, Harmon successfully taught himself the law. The drive for self improvement through education, which he shared with many freedmen, marked his adult years as it had his childhood. While he never benefited from a formal legal education, like many attorneys of the day, he attained a clear working understanding of the law.[15]

Admission to the bar followed his preparation. On May 13, 1869, Archie Banks petitioned the Honorable Jesse H. Goss to admit Harmon to the circuit court bar in Alachua County. "The petition of H. S. Harmon," Banks asserted, "respectfully shows unto your Honor that he is over the age of twenty-one years, that for sometime past he has been engaged in the study of law, and respectfully asks that your honor will appoint a committee of the members of the bar to examine into his qualifications as a candidate for admittance." Attorneys S. Y. Finley and Archie Banks subsequently examined Harmon. "Your committee who were appointed by your Honor to examine Henry S. Harmon touching his knowledge of the law on his application for license to practice law in the courts of this state," they informed the court, "beg leave to report to your Honor that having examined the said applicant find him competent and recommend that he be admitted to practice law in the courts of this state upon taking the required oath."[16]

The emergence of Florida's first African American attorney did not go unnoticed, with the Republican press trumpeting the milestone. "H. S. Harmon, colored, a member of the State Legislature from Alachua county, passed the usual examination, and was admitted to the Bar at Gainesville during the late session

14. Rivers and Brown, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 50-58; John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Seventh Edition* (New York, 1994), 241; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 5-6. On Harmon's legislative initiatives, see, Florida *House Journal*, 1868-1870.
15. Florida *House Journal*, 1868-1870; Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 20-21.
16. Alachua County Judgment Records, Book C (1869-1880), 11 (available at Alachua County Courthouse).

of the Circuit Court in that county," noted the *Jacksonville Florida Union*. "Mr. Harmon is one of the most capable members of the present Legislature; stands well in his county as an intelligent, energetic and industrious citizen, and withal a prosperous one," the article continued, "and we believe will do no discredit to the Alachua bar." The *Union* concluded, "We wish him success in his professional career."[17]

Several factors should be noted regarding Harmon's pioneering effort. First, as the *Florida Union* report made clear, "he passed the usual examination." Those words came loaded with meaning. In 1868, Republican constitutional drafters had anticipated the practice of law by black attorneys, but had assumed that they, as well as white northerners, would require some mechanism to bypass the opposition of local bars and their white southern members. Accordingly, the charter included a provision directing admission to the Florida bar for attorneys who had achieved admission in other states or to the bar of "any United States Court." Harmon, perhaps hoping to lay a foundation locally for his professional credibility, had declined the accommodation. Instead, he had risked public embarrassment. Attorney Harmon emerged, as it happened, without complication and having to make no excuses regarding his professional competence.[18]

By mentioning Harmon's status as a state legislator, the *Union* article added another factor to the equation. The Civil War veteran had studied law for several years. However, he did not request admittance to the bar until nearly a year after he had gained a seat in the Florida General Assembly. His high profile position helped to solidify his chances for admission to the bar despite his race, education, and exclusion from the social network of white attorneys. His calculated efforts to read law, obtain local support, and a high profile political position in order to attain his goal of admission to the bar illustrated Harmon's grasp of the social, legal and political systems that operated in Reconstruction Florida. They were skills he would be called upon to use repeatedly and they served him well as an attorney and a political figure.

By 1870, in any event, Harmon had established himself as a soldier, politician, and lawyer. His influence as a member of the

17. *Jacksonville Florida Union*, 20 May 1869; *Tampa Florida Peninsular*, 16 June 1869.
18. Manley, Brown, and Rise, *Supreme Court of Florida*, 213; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 419.

Florida House of Representative resounded proudly within Alachua's black community, as suggested by his 1869 election to a term on the Gainesville town council. His record of political success led him to enter the race for the Republican nomination for Florida's sole congressional seat, even though the contest pitted him against his friend, Josiah Walls, among other contenders. Politically outgunned in the statewide competition, Harmon eventually withdrew to Walls' benefit. Thereafter, the disappointed candidate turned his attention away from legislative services and concentrated on practical problems associated with family, his legal practice and the establishment of solid financial underpinnings.[19]

Governor Harrison Reed aided the realization of Harmon's aims in 1871 when he appointed the former legislator to the position of clerk of court for Alachua County. The position required that he record actions of and decisions made by the board of county commissioners and local courts of record. He also oversaw the day-to-day operations of the county government. In addition to his other duties, Harmon witnessed the signing of property deeds and mortgages, providing him the opportunity to become well acquainted with managing government responsibilities from a variety of perspectives. The position gave the young attorney the opportunity to observe the unfolding political dynamics and keep a finger on the pulse of postwar economic development.[20]

Harmon's public service brought substantial financial compensation, lessening his reliance upon legal practice for earning a living. In fact, the various public offices Harmon held helped to establish him as one of the most well-to-do of Alachua County's black men. As clerk, for instance, he received fees for work with the road commissioner, for extensions on tax books, and for sealing deeds upon closing property sales. In addition, he redeemed county scrip that he purchased or otherwise obtained and received reimbursements from the county commission that ranged from 50

19. Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 34-36; Canter Brown, Jr., "'Where are now the hopes I cherished': The Life and Times of Robert Meacham," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (July 1990), 15-16; idem, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 95.

20. Commissions, 1827-1978, Records of the Division of Elections, Florida Department of State, Record Group 156, series 259, vol. 28, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee (hereafter, FSA); William Warren Rogers and Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Clerks of the Circuit Court: Their History and Experiences* (Tallahassee, 1996), 51-53.

dollars to more than 300 dollars, a considerable income in the 1870s for blacks or whites.[21]

His personal circumstances thus buttressed, Harmon attempted an unsuccessful legislative comeback in 1872. Confident in the assessment of his peers that he was "one of the shrewdest colored men in the state . . . of liberal education, a fine and elegant speaker," the anti-ring Harmon campaigned for Alachua's state senate seat. However local Republicans divided and the split doomed his candidacy. Not even the intervention of his friend, Florida Congressman Josiah Walls, could change the course of the election. Although the congressman promised that he would cause "Rome to howl and the mountains to quake" on his behalf, Harmon's campaign succumbed to the white incumbent, Leonard G. Dennis. However, Walls's failure to carry his friend into office did not shake their strong friendship.[22]

Walls secured his own election, and, along with Harmon's other political friends, rallied to the attorney's support to arrange his election as chief clerk of the Florida House of Representatives. Harmon thus became the first and only African American to hold this office in Florida. As chief clerk, Harmon presided over all clerical functions of the chamber, including the processing of the bills and resolutions introduced in the house. Harmon carried out the duties of his position with meticulous attention to detail and earned the trust of the assembly members. He possessed the necessary competence and reliability that the office required, but as he had in previous positions of trust, he gained substantial financial benefits from the office. The placement of Harmon in such a prestigious role in state government spoke well for the state's first black attorney; his re-election to the clerkship in the 1874 and 1875 legislative sessions suggests that his colleagues trusted his integrity and abilities.[23]

Walls also may deserve credit for Harmon's selection as a United States customs official at Tampa during the summer of 1873. His length of tenure in the position remains open to speculation, but his presence clearly stirred local sentiments and the ire

21. Scrip is a certificate that allows a reimbursement for a service provided. Alachua County Commission Minutes, Book I, 363-367 (available on microfilm at FSA); manuscript returns, United States Decennial Census, 1870, Alachua County (population schedule).
22. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 4 November 1872; Kingman, *Josiah Walls*, 51.
23. Florida *House Journal*, 1873-1875.

of some whites. "This is surely a hard hit at the white Republicans of that section," a correspondent for a conservative Savannah newspaper chided, "that there was none among them capable of holding the office, and the party had to import a man of the colored way of curling his hair to hold office." The reported added, "Too bad, really."[24]

As Harmon's experience makes clear, during the post-Civil War era most African Americans, even attorneys, required some sort of government position to ensure a steady income. Nevertheless, Harmon never fully abandoned the practice of law. Indeed he inspired others to follow in his footsteps. In April 1873, to cite the most prominent example, Josiah T. Walls secured his own admission to the bar. He did so, as had Harmon, by examination in open court. Harmon, who may well have tutored the congressman, now enjoyed the presence of another prominent black Gainesville attorney with whom he could ally in professional practice.[25]

Within fourteen months following Walls's admission to the bar, the state's first African American legal partnership had formed. In June 1874 Harmon and the congressman joined with their friend and political ally, William U. Saunders, to undertake a combined practice. Saunders had been described six years earlier by the *New York Daily Tribune* as a resident"of Baltimore, about 35 years old, said to be a freedman, a bright yellow mulatto, tall and handsome, active and strong, overcharged with ad captandum eloquence, and magnetic influence over a crowd." Initially the law firm served the legal needs of Alachua County's black community. None of firm's early records survived, but at least some of its practice seems to have focused on property law including real estate transactions.[26]

The partnership came at a particularly auspicious time for Harmon because he had just experienced a setback that threatened his career, his influence, and his legacy. In March 1874 the Alachua County sheriff arrested him for forgery and fraud. The charge stemmed from allegations that he had raised the value of certain

24. *Savannah Advertiser-Republican*, 10 September 1873.
25. Alachua County Judgment Records, Book C (1869-1880), 266; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 22 April 1873; Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 53.
26. *Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Florida Union*, 30 June 1874; Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 51; *New York Daily Tribune*, 5 February 1868.

scrip during his tenure as Alachua County clerk of court. According to one source with Democratic party connections, "[a] piece of scrip calling for $84.80 was raised to $234.80, another value of $39.00, was raised to $539.00, and so on until forgeries aggregated some three to four thousand dollars." The county commission minutes recorded by Harmon reflected the allegedly altered amounts as did certain other records. The *Weekly Floridian* reported that "Harmon was arrested and after three days of laborious investigations before Justice W. S. Barnett, was required to give [bond] for his appearance before the new term of circuit court to answer the charges of forgery." The reputation Harmon had worked to establish was now at risk as the result of the allegations.[27]

Harmon's ability to arrange bond and his quick release from custody did not end the matter, and his legal problems dragged on for two years before disposition. In the meantime the Democratic press gleefully reported his discomfiture. The *Gainesville Times* went so far as to insist that its readers "knew [Harmon] to be guilty of swindling the people of this county." Not until April 1, 1875, did the case come before a judge, who continued the matter for twelve months. Finally on April 13, 1876, two years after his arrest, the court found the defendant not guilty. Harmon "was tried at the last term of the circuit court for [Alachua] county by a mixed jury of black and white men," the Republican *Tallahassee Sentinel* informed its readers, "and honorably acquitted."[28]

The happy news left Harmon to pick up the pieces of his tattered life. He had concluded his service as the chief clerk of the Florida House of Representatives following the 1875 legislative session. Earlier he had undertaken a significant role in Congressman Walls's 1874 re-election campaign, but declined to accept any political offices during the period of his judicial ordeal. When Gainesville residents nominated him for mayor of the town, he refused to accept their endorsement. "My reason for this course," he announced in the pages of the Gainesville *New Era*, "is that in view of the foul charges that have been brought against me, I do not feel at liberty to accept any office of honor, trust or profit whatsoever, until they are refuted before a competent and proper tri-

27. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 17 March 1874.
28. Ibid; Alachua County Judgment Records, Book C (1869-1880), 352; *Gainesville Times* quoted in *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 15 August 1876; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 22 April 1876.

bunal, (if it is the intentions of my enemies ever to give me that opportunity)."[29]

In addition to his other problems, Harmon's home life had deteriorated significantly. His political and governmental activities, as well as his court case, required a great deal of his time and his unwavering commitment. The glory of his political successes and the demands of his work had provided him with a rich emotional and intellectual life, but Sophia remained isolated at home while he served in Tallahassee. In his absence, rumors circulated of the reputation he had earned as a "lady's man." The accumulating pressures resulted in a failed marriage, although it remains unclear when and where Henry and Sophia divorced, or if they, in fact, divorced. In 1876, however, Henry relocated to Tallahassee and Sophia remained in Gainesville. Deed records dated the following year show that Henry signed over property to Sophia, ending their existence together.[30]

Even before their final separation, Henry had been spending an increasing amount of his time at the state capital. By late summer 1875 he and William U. Saunders operated a law firm there, specializing in government land claims. Soon the lure of a prestigious teaching and administrative position, with commensurate salary, opened to further the town's attraction for him. The Lincoln Academy stood out as Tallahassee's premier school for black children and one of the leading African American institutions in the state. Tragically, the school's building had burned in 1872, but within four years it had been rebuilt at the considerable cost of eight thousand dollars as a showplace for public education under Republican government. Its dedication in May 1876 drew a crowd of prominent men, including Governor Marcellus Stearns, the state cabinet officers, and Florida's most noteworthy African American public officials. By then the Leon County school board had charged Harmon with responsibility for overseeing the progress of the school. He remained in the post only one year, but left the school with a reputation for equaling, if not exceeding, the performance of white schools in the area.[31]

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29. Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 57-70; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 21 April 1874.
30. Alachua County Deed Records, Book J (1876-1878), 181 (available at Alachua County Courthouse); *Norfolk* (Va.) *Journal and Guide*, 22 October 1927.
31. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 5 June, 7 and 14 August 1875; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 10 August 1875, 9 and 16 May 1876; William N. Sheats, *Bi-ennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1898* (Tallahassee 1899), 386.

The political revolution of Redemption ended Harmon's tenure at the Lincoln Academy in 1877. The election of 1876 sent shock waves through the black community. Black leaders fighting to maintain political gains saw their dreams disappear as determined white conservatives terrorized black voters and kept them from the polls. At both the state and national levels, controversy reigned: Democrat George Drew defeated Republican Marcellus Stearns for Florida's gubernatorial seat, and in the presidential contest, Democrat Samuel Tilden won the popular vote in an election that would carry Republican Rutherford B. Hays to the White House. Florida's disputed presidential vote, ultimately decided in Hays's favor after the so-called "Compromise of 1877," provided for the withdrawal of federal troops and the end of Reconstruction.

If Harmon had anticipated re-establishing his elective political career at Tallahassee, the conservative triumph destroyed those dreams. With the Democratic takeover of state government in January, most appointive black officials, other than those in municipal offices, quickly found themselves unemployed. Harmon witnessed not only the political, but also the financial decline of many of his former associates. As an attorney he fared better; he possessed the means to earn a living, especially in a place like Leon County with a black majority population and jury pools still unrestricted by race. His professional prospects loomed even greater given his national political connections; he had served as a delegate to the 1876 Republican National Convention. As long as the Republican party controlled the White House, his representation of clients in federal courts could proceed without difficulty.[32]

Harmon took care to maintain his political connections, and throughout the 1880s, he remained active in Republican party affairs. In 1880, for example, the former legislator served as secretary of the State Republican Executive Committee and as an officer of the Republican State Convention. There, he denounced rule by Democrats and condemned their policies. The Democrats, reports quoted him as declaring, "had enacted no laws detrimental to any

32. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 10 June 1876; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 4 February 1879; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 314-39; Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, 1976), 17-26; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 29-42; Peter D. Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970* (Gainesville, 1984), 76-82.

race—that they didn't need any laws, but acted independent and in defiance of all law—that they took away their schools, their liberty, their life—robbed thousands of Republicans of their right to vote—that if the Democratic Party nominated a Devil, they would support and elect him." That his comments enjoyed support from both white and black delegates at the 1880 convention evidences, as do other sources, that he still commanded the respect and support of his peers during the post-Reconstruction era.[33]

Party loyalty produced its rewards. On June 8, 1880, Harmon replaced his long-time political rival Leonard G. Dennis as the United States deputy collector of revenue for Florida. With the appointment, Harmon inherited another high-profile position that would utilize his many talents and offer him the possibility of enhancing his reputation as a serious political force in the state. Although Harmon's headquarters remained in Tallahassee, the lucrative nature of his job and the restrictions attached to the appointment apparently caused him to give up his law practice.[34]

In the following years, Harmon seldom hesitated voice his concerns about the black community and to do so in a direct and often confrontational manner. In articles he wrote to the *Weekly Floridian*, a Democratic newspaper published in Tallahassee, Harmon voiced his anger at the mistreatment of blacks and challenged Democratic propaganda that marginalized blacks politically and categorized them as second-class citizens. "The colored man may be a child in politics, citizenship, intelligence or high morality," he asserted, "but start in the education of a child by impressing on his mind that he is hopelessly immoral and corrupt, and there is little doubt that you will make him that, or worse." Having evidenced a moderate tone earlier in his political career, Harmon's disdain for the Democratic party and his willingness to confront rising racial barriers clearly increased after Reconstruction's end. In a sense the loss of Republican power had liberated him personally. Harmon's political career and personal ambitions no longer hindered him from expressing his true convictions on important and controversial issues.[35]

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33. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 18 May 1880; Williamson, *Florida Politics*, 156, 159; Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 119.
34. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 8 June 1880; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 29-42.
35. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 11 July, 1 August 1882; *Washington* (DC) *People's Advocate*, 8 May 1880.

Some reports suggest that, in his late thirties and early forties, Harmon also began focusing his attention on the newspaper business. He had mastered the techniques of political and editorial writing through his experience in several public positions and, without question, possessed the attributes of a superb editor. In 1878, he may have flirted with the possibility of assuming the editorship of *The Patriot*, a Tallahassee organ created as competition for the *Weekly Floridian.* If so, Harmon changed his mind, denying within one week of the rumor's publication that he had any connection with the newspaper. However, he evinced a keener interest in the newspaper business in 1880, an election year for state and national offices. A September account suggested that Harmon then served as the publisher of three newspapers: the *Indian River Times* at Titusville; the *Volusia County News* in Orange City; and Titusville's *Florida Star.* "Mr. Harmon seems to be endeavoring to rival the great Forney," the account's author observed, "and is even now able to refer proudly to his three papers all weekly." The author concluded the article by asking, "Where are you going to stop brother Harmon?"[36]

Harmon once again seemed at the top of his game. He held an important federal office, operated three newspapers, enjoyed a newfound admiration among his peers, and had married a new wife, Nancy. He displayed the ability to adapt to dramatically changed conditions and emerge victorious. And, he had never given up on the promise that he saw in Florida after he came to the state following the Civil War. As evidence of his optimism, Henry and Nancy celebrated in 1883 by adopting a daughter. As approved by an act of the legislature, they made young Lydia DeCoursey, likely the daughter of deceased Leon County sheriff Philip L. DeCoursey, their child.[37]

Despite his optimism, Henry Harmon's life took a serious turn for the worse. Democrat Grover Cleveland assumed the presidency in 1885, and patronage positions for black Republicans evaporated. In Florida, former Confederate general Edward A. Perry captured the governor's office and advanced plans for redeeming the state once and for all from what he perceived as the evils of

36. Ibid., 12 and 19 November 1878; *Tallahassee Semi-Weekly Floridian,* 10 September 1880.

37. Rivers, "He Treats His Fellow Man Properly," 121-23; *Laws of Florida* (1883), 167; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials,* 84.

Reconstruction. Harmon proved ill-prepared to deal with the new political reality. Moreover, his domestic life apparently had fared no better; census takers recorded him as "widowed." Having absented himself for most of the decade from the legal profession and facing a climate increasingly hostile to black attorneys, Harmon created a new career from what had long been a hobby and became a cabinetmaker. By 1886, he operated one of "Tallahassee's finest cabinet making and upholstery shops" at Boulevard and St. Augustine streets and advertised his services as, "H. S. Harmon—Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer—Repairing Done—Chairs Caned." As with almost everything he attempted, Harmon's shop proved a success and operated from 1886 until his death in 1889.[38]

Harmon remained a fighter until the end. As late as 1888 he railed against the Democrats, demanding that they answer for their attempts to exclude African Americans from office and the state's political life. "If the colored man cannot have the office of Assessor," (a minor local office) he argued, "then for God's sake what can he have?" The 1888 campaign would be Harmon's last; his health gave way the following year and he died of pneumonia on Christmas Eve 1889. His friend and fellow activist Matthew M. Lewey, editor of the *Florida Sentinel*, memorialized him: "Henry S. Harmon . . ." he wrote, "was at one time the most prominent colored politician in his dealings with all men whether in politics or business relations." Another friend, T. Thomas Fortune, printed Harmon's obituary in the *New York Age*. Other national African American organs similarly noted his death.[39]

Henry S. Harmon's legacy remains alive in Florida today. A fearless pioneer, he led Florida's African Americans into the legal profession; and thereby laid the foundation for the attorneys who fought Jim Crow in the early twentieth century and who served in the vanguard of the state's mid-twentieth-century civil rights movement. As a pioneer, Harmon also faced the uneven nature of political and social advancement in the post-Civil War era. Acquiring

38. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 58-59; manuscript returns, 1885, Florida State Census, Leon County (population schedule); *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 26 August 1886.

39. Williamson, *Florida Politics*, 156; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 31 December 1889; *Gainesville Florida Sentinel* quoted in *New York Age*, 1 February 1890, and *Salisbury* (N.C.) , 13 February 1890.

professional credentials and alliance with the Republican party opened opportunities for Harmon, but also made him vulnerable to changes in political fortunes. His northern free black roots raised questions among African Americans emerging from the experience of slavery, and his credentials as a Union Army veteran and Republican party member marked him as a target for conservative whites embittered by their loss of political and social power. Like many men of the age, Harmon's life demonstrated the need for quick economic and political adaptation that uncertain times required. Indeed, although Harmon's name is not as well-known as that of Walls or Wallace, his experiences may have been more representative of the possibilities and barriers that African Americans of the era faced. For that reason, those who knew Henry S. Harmon respected his accomplishments and revered his memory.

Documents: Andrew Atkinson Humphreys' Seminole War Field Journal

Biographical sketch, introduction and editing by Matthew T. Pearcy

Biographical Sketch

Andrew Atkinson Humphreys (1810-1883) was born into a prominent Philadelphia family of Quaker origin. His grandfather, Joshua Humphreys, a distinguished naval architect later known as the "Father of the American Navy," served as chief naval constructor (1794-1801) and designed the first U.S. warships, including the *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides") and her five sister ships. Andrew's father, Samuel, also served as chief naval constructor (1826-1846) and designed and built the *U.S.S. Pennsylvania*, the largest ship in the world at the time and the most heavily armed man of war ever built. Despite his pedigree, young Andrew forsook a promising career in the navy for the hardscrabble life of a soldier. He graduated from West Point in 1831 and joined the Second Artillery Regiment at Ft. Moultrie, South Carolina, though, as a gifted draftsman and engineer, he did occasional topographical duty as well. At the outset of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842), Humphreys accompanied his regiment to Florida where he saw combat in the spring and summer of 1836. Severe illness, probably yellow fever, forced him from the army in September, and he worked intermittently as a civil engineer before returning to uniform in 1838.

Early in his second hitch, Humphreys served with the newly

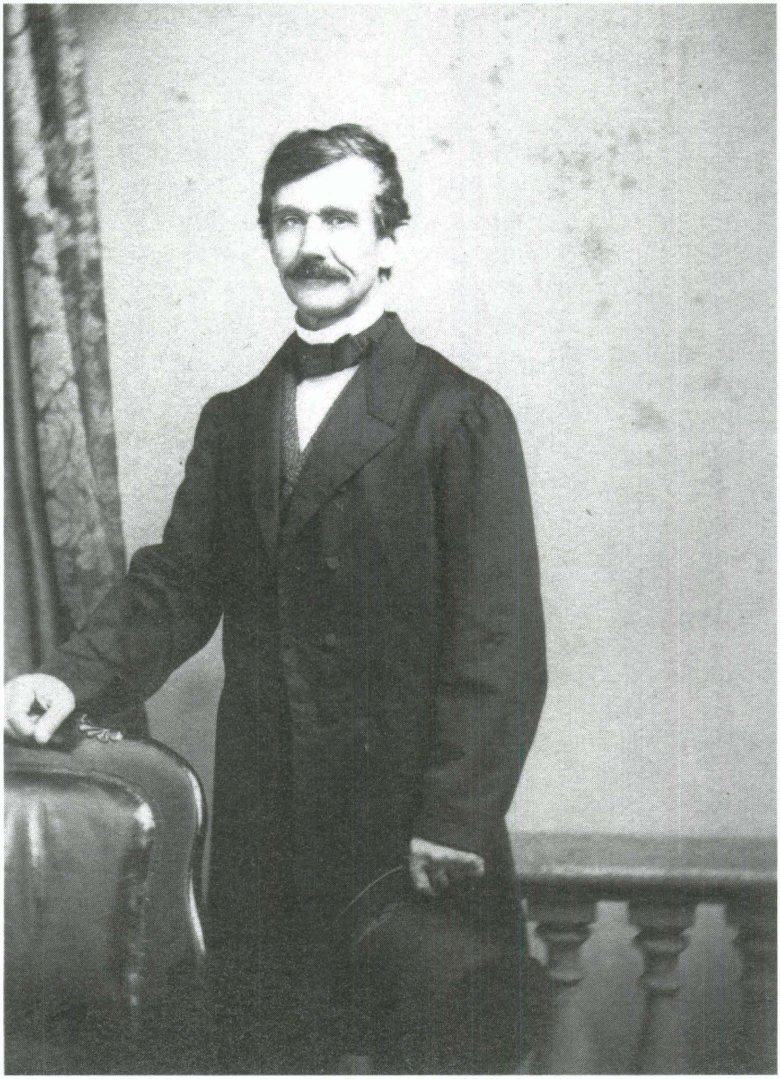
organized Army Corps of Topographical Engineers on assignments in Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C., conducting surveys and overseeing harbor improvements and bridge building. In 1844 at the behest of internationally renowned scientist Alexander Dallas Bache, Humphreys detailed as "assistant in charge" at the Coast Survey while Bache transformed that organization into the preeminent patron of antebellum science in the United States. Humphreys left his position in 1850 to assume responsibility for an extensive survey of the lower Mississippi River, an assignment that he embraced with characteristic vigor. The compilation of that work, the massive *Report upon the Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River* (1861) co-authored with his brilliant young assistant, Henry L. Abbot, represented the most thorough analyses of the Mississippi River ever completed, won the respect of engineers around the world, and decidedly influenced the development of river engineering in America. During that same period and under the immediate supervision and close cooperation of the Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, Humphreys also directed the *Pacific Railroad Surveys* (1853-1857), an unprecedented assemblage of more than 100 soldiers, scientists, and technicians marshaled for the single purpose of identifying the most practical and economical route for the nation's first transcontinental railroad. The enormous thirteen-volume final report on the various expeditions was a monumental scientific achievement and a virtual encyclopedia of the western experience. By the eve of the Civil War, Humphreys ranked among the upper echelon of American scientists and had earned membership in the prestigious American Philosophical Society.

While the war accelerated the traditionally slow pace of promotion in the army, Humphreys – who had not seen combat in twenty-five years – found few early opportunities for advancement. Neither a Republican nor an ardent emancipationist, he also suffered for his very public association with Confederate president Jeff Davis and, later, for his friendship with former Army of the Potomac commander, Major General George B. McClellan. More than 200 Union officers outranked him as late as August 1862, but Humphreys eventually proved his mettle in the field. He won brevet promotions for bravery at Fredericksburg, where he led a green division in a gallant charge on Marye's Heights, and again at Gettysburg, where he and his division fought doggedly in retreat, resisting a slashing Confederate attack along Emmetsburg Road in

some of the fiercest fighting of the war. For his efforts on that most famous of Pennsylvania battlefields, he earned the moniker, "the Fighting Fool of Gettysburg." Humphreys afterwards became chief of staff of the Army of the Potomac under Major General George G. Meade during the tragic encounters at the Wilderness and Cold Harbor as well as the early siege of Petersburg. In November 1864, he took command of the celebrated II Corps and earned additional accolades at Sailor's Creek, contributing in no small part to Robert E. Lee's final surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. At war's end, Charles Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, called Humphreys "the great soldier of the Army of the Potomac."

General Ulysses S. Grant selected Humphreys as the new chief of Corps of Engineers in 1866, a position he held for thirteen years. During his long tenure, he confronted a dramatic post-war expansion of internal improvements and oversaw important surveys and explorations of the American West as well as a complete overhaul of the nation's coastal fortifications. He also established the Army's first engineer school at Willets Point in New York and served on a number of important boards and commissions, including the Washington Monument Commission, the Lighthouse Board, and the Commission to examine into Canal Routes across the Isthmus connecting North and South America. He retired at the age of 68 and is the next longest serving chief, second only to Brigadier General Joseph G. Totten. Humphreys' last years were devoted to penning two important and highly reputable histories of the Virginia campaigns. He died in Washington, D.C. on December 27, 1883.

Sources: George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point*, vol. 1 (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1891), 476-481; *American National Biography*, s.v. "Humphreys, Andrew Atkinson."



Captain Andrew A. Humphreys (c. 1848) when detailed as Assistant in Charge of the Coast Survey. *Image courtesy of the Office of History collection U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.*

Andrew A. Humphreys' Seminole War Field Journal

His army career interrupted and his health unstable, Andrew Humphreys found little remaining use for his field journal but was not yet ready to retire it. In February 1837, he forwarded two short extracts to the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.) as a rebuttal to the "infamous libels" leveled at federal troops by the rival Jacksonian newspaper, *The Globe* (Washington, D.C.). In the previous year, the editor of that latter paper, the talented and irascible Francis P. Blair[1], could scarcely, according to Humphreys, "find terms harsh enough to express the contempt in which he held the regular troops in Florida" and "even went so far as to say there exists among them a certain infectious disorder called 'breastwork panic.'"[2] That hostile press generated "utter disgust... by all at Fort Drane and other forts," and Humphreys even alleged that the "spirit of *The Globe's* master could be perceived" in these attacks.[3] That "master," of course, was Andrew Jackson, whom Humphreys bitterly disliked, reflecting the Whig proclivities of his father. The editor of the friendly *Intelligencer* never published Humphreys' journal excerpts but wrote in mid-March that the "Army has done its duty with bravery and fidelity, and it deserved a better reward at the hands of the Government than

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The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has generously authorized the publication of this journal. The editor also owes a special measure of gratitude to several fellow historians who helped to decipher the sometimes difficult script of the original document, including Kenton E. Spading, Shannon L. Bauer, and Michael J. Brodhead. Their efforts have significantly improved the quality and accuracy of this transcription.

1. A feisty editor from Kentucky, Francis Preston Blair helped Andrew Jackson carry that state in 1828 and two years later came to the capital as editor of the new Washington newspaper, *The Globe*, dedicated to Jackson and his policies. Blair also served in Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet."
2. For the editorial on "breastwork panic," see *The Globe* (Washington, D.C.), June 25, 1836; Andrew A. Humphreys (AAH) to the editor of the *National Intelligencer*, February 1837 (1/39), Humphreys Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).
3. Ibid. For select instances of *The Globe's* generally harsh treatment of the regular forces, see the lead editorial of March 5, 1836 (p. 3) and an anonymous editorial appearing on May 26, 1836 (p. 3). For the editor's general preference for militia over regular forces in Indian wars particularly, see May 30, 1836 (p. 3), "It would require the army of Napoleon to keep a force ready whenever an Indian can raise a tomahawk.... The militia can at all times be called out by the Governors, and in cases of alarm, this is the usual and proper course, before measures can be directed by the General Government. Our Government would soon become a central one indeed, if all power and responsibility are taken from the State authorities."

unfounded imputations, cold neglect, [and] grave charges."[4] Humphreys thereafter gave up entirely on his journal, never to return to it. The final entry reads simply, "June 14th 1837, at Pont Reading."[5] The leather-and-board bound document was never published or even transcribed and eventually passed to his youngest daughter Letitia, who became the chief custodian of her father's personal papers until 1912 when she donated the entire collection to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Short selections from the field journal appeared in a 1924 biography of Humphreys (written years earlier by his eldest son Henry) but drew little attention. Then, for all practical purposes, these writings disappeared.

Preserved, protected, but utterly lost among two hundred miscellaneous boxes in the substantial Humphreys manuscript collection at the HSP, Humphreys' field journal – and, indeed, a valuable cache of wartime letters in the same collection – escaped the attention of Seminole War scholars and researchers for nearly 100 years. The unfortunate result is that Humphreys has been overlooked. Arguably the most literate, probably the most opinionated, and certainly the most prominent of the Seminole War diarists, he goes completely unmentioned in all of the major works of that war, including John K. Mahon's definitive *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (1967). Even the dependable *Florida Historical Quarterly*, for more than seventy years the preferred publication for material on the Seminole Wars, affords not a single reference in all of its back issues to Humphreys' colorful writings on the subject. In the end, a little detective work by the author and a determined investigation by Jack Gumbrecht, Assistant Director of Research Services at the HSP, led to a rediscovery of the journal in November 2005.

Historians and Seminole War enthusiasts will ultimately determine the relative importance of these writings, but something of their value can be established here. Certainly, this long-lost journal represents one of very few *in-the-field* diary accounts of the Second Seminole War.[6] Written by a prominent West Point graduate, Civil War general, and future longtime chief of the Army Corps of

4. *National Intelligencer*, March 21, 1837.
5. Andrew A. Humphreys Journal, July 23, 1836, Andrew A. Humphreys Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (document hereafter cited as Humphreys Journal), 20.
6. Another is the diary of Lt. Henry Prince, whose writings were recently rediscovered and published by the leading Seminole War historian, Frank Laumer. Prince, like Humphreys a West Pointer, spent the better part of three years in Florida from 1836 to 1842, and the recovery of his substantial diary was cause

Map of the Seat of War in Florida: Compiled by order of Bvt. Grig. Gen. Zachary Taylor, 1839 Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

Engineers, the journal provides a new and authoritative perspective on important aspects of that war, including the distrust and hostility that characterized relations between regular and militia forces, the collusion between Seminole maroons and plantation slaves bent on insurrection, and the generally poor quality of military leadership in the theater. Those interested in Osceola, Winfield Scott, forts Drane, Defiance, and King, the Battle of Micanopy, or the besieged blockhouse on the Withlacoochee and a host of other early Seminole War topics will find much of interest here as well. The value of these insights alone is immeasurable, but Humphreys also wrote with a literary flair that none of his fellow diarists could match. His writing is compelling and uncluttered, and, aside from the occasional "whilst," free of the florid prose so common to the nineteenth century. It is at times even sublime. Additionally, the journal sheds considerable light on the enigmatic Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, among the most important American scientific and military figures of his generation. He would later win a measure of eternal fame on

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for celebration in the Florida historical community. While confined to the spring and summer of 1836, the Humphreys journal will certainly rival that of Prince for rank among the richest and most valuable contemporary accounts of that critical period of the Florida War. Laumer, ed. *Amidst a Storm of Bullets, 1836-1842: The Diary of Lt. Henry Prince in Florida* (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 1998) [hereafter cited as Henry Prince Diary].

the Civil War battlefields of Fredericksburg and Gettysburg but his first test of combat came many years earlier in the dread Cove of the Withlacoochee. This is his story, from his own pen.

April 12, 1836

Camp Georgia, Tampa Bay

I delight in extremes and certainly my profession leads to them – from the center of civilization to the wildest forests, I am transferred in a few days. In January luxuriating in all the delights of our capital, in February suffering from hunger, thirst and fatigue in the hammocks[7] of Florida. I joined General Clinch's brigade at Camp Drane, marched for the Ouithlacoochee[8] [Withlacoochee] on the 26th [of] March and without interruption arrived on its banks. The Brigade consisted of ten companies of artillery acting as infantry making 400 men; one company of dragoons as infantry = 50 men; six companies of Infantry = 250 men; Colonel [William S.] Foster[9] commanding one company artillery with two six pounders = 40 men; Georgia Volunteers of 300 under Major [Mark A.] Cooper[10]; Georgia Volunteers under Captain [Francis M.] Robertson[11] of 130 men; Georgia mounted

7. A "hammock" is defined as "an elevated, well-drained tract of land rising above the general level of a marshy region." *The Random House College Dictionary: Revised Edition* (New York: Random House, 1982). Generally, this transcription retains the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of the source text, but always capitalizes the first word and places a period at the end of each sentence. Mary-Jo Kline, *A Guide to Documentary Editing* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 126.
8. The preferred spelling is "Withlacoochee," though "Ouithlacoochee" is also commonly used.
9. See John and Mary Lou Missall's *The Miserable Pride of a Soldier: The Letters and Journal of Col. William S. Foster in the Second Seminole War* (Tampa Bay: University of Tampa Press, 2005). William Sewell Foster is also mentioned by Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 152.
10. Mark A. Cooper is mentioned by Sprague, who indicates that Cooper served under Lt. Colonel James Bankhead. John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1848), 116, 118, 126. For additional information on Cooper, see Marcus J. Wright, *General Scott* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1894), 92; and Henry Prince Diary, 38, 40.
11. Francis M. Robertson was admitted to West Point in 1822 and left in 1826 as a non-graduate. He is mentioned in Rembert W. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1963), 140. Rembert indicates that Robertson was "an officer who had served with Clinch" and was affiliated with the Georgia volunteers. Robertson is also mentioned (though no initials or first name given) in Henry Prince Diary, 36-37, 39; and in Wright, 112.

Volunteers under Major [John M.] Douglass[12] = 230 men; Louisiana Volunteer under Colonel [Persifor F.] Smith[13] of about 400 men – making in all about 1800 men.

On 28th March we approached the Ouithlacoochee and for three miles before arriving at it were obliged to skirt close along the edge of a thick hammock from which General [Edmund P.] Gaines[14] had been fired upon. For a few moments a universal silence pervaded the columns, the attention of all was directed to the dark suspicious looking spot from which the sharp pop, pop, pop of the Seminole's rifle was expected. But the sighing of the wind through the lonely pine and the long lank grass was all the sound that reached the outstretched ear. Above us, no good omen, soared the lazy vultures. Here we fully counted upon an attack but none was made. The Ouithlacoochee is a beautiful stream about 30 yards wide and from 12 to 20 feet deep with high banks, covered with thick hammocks. At the point of crossing, the river made a sudden turn [illustrated], the vertex being towards us. Six pounders were placed at it, completely enfilading the opposite banks.

At daylight or just before it on the 29th [of] March, every disposition being made, a man of Captain Robertson's company by

12. John M. Douglass. See Wright, 112. He is also mentioned by Sprague, 119, 123. For more information on Georgia militia, see Gordon Burns Smith and Anna Habersham Wright Smith, *History of the Georgia Militia 1783-1861*, 4 vols. (Milledgeville, GA: Boyd Publishing, 2000).
13. Persifor F. Smith. See Canter Brown, Jr., "Persifor F. Smith, the Louisiana Volunteers, and Florida's Second Seminole War," Louisiana History 30 (1993): 389-410; Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 144, 157, 219, 222, and 233. Smith is also mentioned by Sprague, 129, 130, 148; and Wright, 112.
14. Edmund P. Gaines, a Major General and lifelong rival of Winfield Scott, learned of the trouble in Florida on January 15, 1836, while in New Orleans. Without delay, he put together a large expedition and traveled by ship to Pensacola, Florida, and then to Tampa, where he met up with Major Leigh Read of the Florida volunteers. Together with about 980 men and one six-pounder, they set out for a poorly outfitted and largely unsuccessful campaign against the Seminoles. Gaines and his men eventually met up with a large force of Seminoles and found themselves besieged on the banks of the Withlacoochee River. Clinch later came to their relief, and Gaines quietly left the theatre on March 14 in advance of Scott's spring campaign. Gaines' expedition is also noted for locating and interring the remains of the Dade's ill-fated column. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 146-150.

the name of [Joster] Blodget[15] swam across the stream and made fast the rope leg which the boats (carried with the army) need to be pulled across. It was a moment of some interest, but the man was uninjured and the place is now called Blodget's Ferry. Two companies of 2[d] Artillery composed the advanced guard – "A" company commanded by Lt. [John B.] Grayson[16] and Major [John] Mo[u]ntfort's[17] company commanded by Lieutenant [George W.] Ward[18]. They were ready in the flats almost as soon as the rope was made fast [and] were displayed on the opposite banks. To our astonishment, we were unmolested during the whole day. Our means of crossing the river were two flats, made at Camp Drane and fastened together after launching – the dimension of each [was] 30 feet long – 3 feet wide – 16 inches deep. The longest wagons with 1600 pounds in them were passed over with ease.

It was a beautiful night – the moon in its full and the air balmy and redolent of the perfume of the fresh budding wild flowers – the long mass waving listlessly to and fro. The Army was still crossing when the crack of a single rifle was heard – it was the signal – and yells and shots quickly followed. Then answered the heavy report of the musquet and the loud bellows of artillery. Soon again all was quiet. Our rear guard had been attacked but no one injured. On the 30[th] (a day of note with us, for on it Clinch fought and Gaines[19] also), we moved towards the town

15. According to a contemporary source, the man was Joster Blodget of the Richmond (Georgia) Blues. *National Intelligencer*, July 28, 1836. Later accounts generally call him Foster Blodget, though the spelling of the last name varies by account (Blodgett, etc.). See, for example, William and Ellen Hartley, *Osceola: The Unconquered Indian* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc, 1973), 181.
16. John Breckinridge Grayson, West Point class of 1826. Sprague, 107. Wright, 99.
17. John Mountfort. See Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 30 (1), 88-90, 96, 102. Also see Henry Prince Diary, 57, 60. Also spelled "Mountford." Wright, 99.
18. George Washington Ward, West Point class of 1832. He graduated first in his class. He should not be confused with William N. Ward, who was shot and killed by his commander, Colonel Richard C. Parish, for insubordinate behavior on January 31, 1836. For the latter, see Henry Prince Diary, 6; Wright, 90.
19. Gaines had already left the theater by this date, so Humphreys' meaning here is unclear. Humphreys is probably noting that both Clinch and Gaines fought on the Withlacoochee River near his present location on or about the 30[th] of the month. Clinch fought there on December 30, 1835. Gaines was besieged in that vicinity through the end of February and into March.

that General Clinch struck for three months before. It was deserted, and we burnt it – placed our baggage in charge of three hundred men and then in a quick time followed a fresh trail leading from it towards and up the river. As we passed rapidly along, Indians were seen retreating at some distance and fired at. Near sunset we entered a large prairie completely encircled with heavy hammock, round the edges of which was a wide belt of water and mire more than two feet deep – covered with fallen trees and vines and a mass of tangled undergrowth, forming a very strong position. At the extreme end of the prairie, a small party of Mickasaukies [Mikasuki or Miccosukee] were discovered making signs of peace.[20] Their signs being answered, a man understanding, this language was sent forward. He soon returned stating that they had said that they did not wish to fight, nor to go away — but would come to our camp in the morning and have a talk – but at the same time endeavored to surround our man, who perceiving of their intentions returned [to] us. At night approaching we returned about half a mile into the pinewoods and encamped.

31st [of March]. Again in motion on the prairie, the right wing on one side, the left on the opposite – pop – goes the signal rifle, rapidly followed by many others – the musquets answered and their yells and sniper shots and musquets [illegible] and then the grand hurrah of the white men. The right wing was attacked and the firing and yelling confirmed until we (the left wing) had crossed the prairie and formed on its left. A few shots were fired at us as we formed – but a charge into the hammock left us no one to contend with. In fact, there were but very few Indians opposite our line. The advance guard of the right wing continued driving the Seminoles until they crossed the river. We had three or four killed and several wounded, the majority of them Louisiana volunteers.

20. While Humphreys later seems to question the sincerity of these peace offerings, the mere evidence of these signs sharply contradicts statements later made by General Scott that "not a white flag has been seen by this army and not an overture of submission or peace heard of." Scott made this claim in challenge to statements by Gaines that his brief campaign had compelled the Seminoles to make peace in advance of Scott's arrival to the theater. This incident lends credence to Gaines' claims. Charles W. Elliott, *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 306. Henry Prince corroborates the evidence of "white flags." Henry Prince Diary, 26. Also see, Sprague, 132.

Marks of wounded or dead men having been dragged off by the Seminoles were perceived.[21]

Our provisions being out, we returned to the baggage camp and it being decided that we should move towards Tampa Bay (as the signal gun fired every morning at ten had not been answered for one or two days by General Eustis or Colonel Lindsay) on the following morning we marched South. At about 20 miles from Blodget's ferry a detachment of 300 men, the Georgia Volunteers under Major Cooper was left with 17 days rations.[22] On our route we passed along a string of beautiful little lakes sunk between gently swelling hills – dotted with miniature islands. Noble oaks shaded their banks and the Indian towns stretched along their edge. Here the foot of the white had never before disturbed the fallen leaf. The Seminole lived quietly and content. The lake gave him fish, the forest deer, and the garden corn, with this and freedom, he was satisfied. It pained me to see the lonely spots desecrated by the ruthless hand of war – for the firebrand effaced one feature of the picture.

After quitting the lake country we marched over pine barrens that had been newly burnt. There was no air stirring. The sun was scorching and the coal dust and ashes rose up in clouds as we tramped along, filling our eyes and ears, nostrils and throats. There was no water for many miles and the dead silence that pervaded the column showed that the march was anything than pleasant.

On Wednesday [April] 6th, arrived at Tampa Bay [Fort Brooke] where we have been living most indolently – eating fish and oysters, when we can get them. Here we found Gen. Eustis with his command of South Carolinians about 1200 strong – having crossed from Volusia to Pilaklakaha [Peliklakaha] and from thence to this place – I am inclined to think there was more sur-

21. This engagement was called the Battle of Oloklikaha, and a number of biographical sketches on Humphreys identify it as his first combat encounter. See George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y.* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1900); and *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography.*

22. Humphreys is here chronicling the establishment of Fort Cooper in the heart of the Cove. Major Cooper and his men were later besieged by Indians and relieved by Clinch and his men (including Humphreys) on or about April 18, 1836, while returning to Fort Drane following Scott's failed campaign.

prise than pleasure manifested at his presence. Col. Lindsay is also here with about 1000 Alabamians – having penetrated the country 40 or 50 miles and then returned. Both have had skirmishes with the Seminoles – but nothing further. It is said that [Joseph Shelton][23] of General Eustis's Brigade killed Cohanjo – one of the principal Indian chiefs.[24]

April 13, 1836

Tampa Bay

Tomorrow General Clinch marches for the Ouithlacoochee. The Louisianans have gone to Charlotte's Harbor, where it is supposed that many Indian families are – part of our artillery force (4 companies) have gone to Col. Lindsay so that we have now six companies of artillery as infantry – 200 men. Six companies of Infantry, 200 under Colonel Foster. One company of dragoons 50. Roberson's command 130. Mounted men Georgia volunteers – 100. In all about 700. General Eustis moves to Pease's creek [Peace Creek] and from there to Volusia. Colonel Lindsay [moves] towards the forks of the Ouithlacoochee.

Nothing will be done this campaign – it was commenced too late and with insufficient means. The Quartermaster and Commissary departments are in a miserable condition. There are but two depots of provisions and ammunition on hand – Tampa Bay and Picolata distant apart 160 or 170 miles. The wagons are few in number and old, weak, and rickety. The horses worn out. The army is in constant danger of starving.

The principal Seminole chiefs are:

- Micanopy, the Pond Governor, King of the Nation – a fat lazy fellow.

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23. Humphreys left the name blank, apparently intending to go back and fill it in. An article written by a fellow officer in the right wing offers some additional information on this point. In a long letter to the *National Intelligencer*, he writes of the "Hero of the left wing... General [Joseph] Shelton of South Carolina who distinguished himself in a combat with an Indian Chief." *National Intelligencer*, July 28, 1836.

24. For a second account of the killing of a Seminole chief, see George Walton, *Fearless and Free: The Seminole Indian War, 1835-1842* (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1977), 117. Mahon spells the name, "Yahadjo." Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 157; Wright spells it "Yaha Hayo." Wright, 116; Hartley, 185.

- Jumper (brother-in-law of Micanopy) or Leaping Tiger – a balling chief
- Cooper (a half breed called the sense bearer[25])
- Catsterskenuggee,[26] (anglicized) Chief of the Mickasaukees
    * His brother, Sam Jones,[27] their principal warrior
- Cohandjo[28] – and Alberto Handjo – on the Ocklawaha [Oklawaha River]
- Halatamico,[29] Chief of the Ocklawahas
- Big Alligator, Little Alligator
- Oseola, or the rising sun (according to Nero), Powell, a sub chief, the principle mover of the war, now of the Micksaukies whom he wields at pleasure (Aseyahola – black drink, mad tea drinker, according to Cudjo)
- Flucklustahandjo,[30] a subchief of influence
- Hotalka O'Mathla,[31] friendly chief at Fort King of the Euchees [Euchee Indians]. Billy & Charles, Charles partly educated in Charleston. Lives near the St. Johns [River]
- Abraham, the former interpreter at Camp King, a negro six feet in height is the leader of the negroes
- Nero,[32] a Negro, Old Primas,[33] etc. etc.

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25. Also called a "sense keeper." According to various sources, the "sense bearer" was a "lawyer advocate," a "high chancellor" and a "keeper of the king's conscience." Jumper was identified as the "sense keeper" in Edward C. Coker and Daniel L. Schafer, eds., "A West Point Graduate in the Second Seminole War: William Warren Chapman and the View from Fort Foster," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 68 (4), 469; and also as the "sense bearer" in Mahon, ed., "Letters from the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 36 (4), 334. Abraham was identified as Micanopy's "sense bearer" in Edwin L. Williams Jr., "Negro Slavery in Florida" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 28 (2), 103, 104. Abraham may have succeeded Jumper, as indicated in Kenneth W. Porter, "The Negro Abraham" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 25 (1), 14.
26. Halpatter Tusteneggee.
27. Also known as Arpeika, a Mikasuki chief.
28. Coa Hadjo.
29. Holata Micco – also known as Chief Billy Bowlegs.
30. Fuche Luste Hadjo.
31. Holata Emathla.
32. Nero, a Black Seminole associated with Billy Bowlegs. Porter, "Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) in the Seminole Wars (Part I)" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45 (3), 238, (fn. 31). For additional information, see footnote #51 of this edited journal.
33. Primus is identified as a "captured Indian negro" in Frank F. White, Jr., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague's Journal, Kept during April and May, 1839" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (2), 164; and as a leader of

April 29, 1836

Fort Drane.

At dusk[34] an express came in from Governor Call stating that about [the] 2[d] [of] April, a depot of corn and provisions had been made on the Ouithlacoochee about 12 miles from its mouth by his direction by a party of Floridians under Captain [John] McElmore[35] [*sic*] – a block house erected and forty men left to guard it (This depot was intended for our army under the supposition that the wings were to form a junction near the Ouithlacoochee). Colonel [Leigh] Reed[36] [*sic*] with his three hundred Floridians was ordered to reconnoiter the mouth of the Ouithlacoochee upon his return to St. Marks from Tampa Bay and if possible enter and explore the river, sketch the banks, and select a site for a block house. Upon arriving at its mouth, he found the flat boat of the block house party floating out, cut in two, apparently by an awkward hand: saw large fires along the river – all indicating the presence of a strong body of Indians besieging the blockhouse. Colonel Reed was furnished with strong boats built for that service, yet did not venture to ascend the river – but left the little garrison to its fate and sailed with all dispatch to St. Marks. Then at Tampa Bay this same Floridian militia man (I am told) begged leave to send a challenge to Powell and all his followers to meet his three hundred Floridians! Oh, Bravo!

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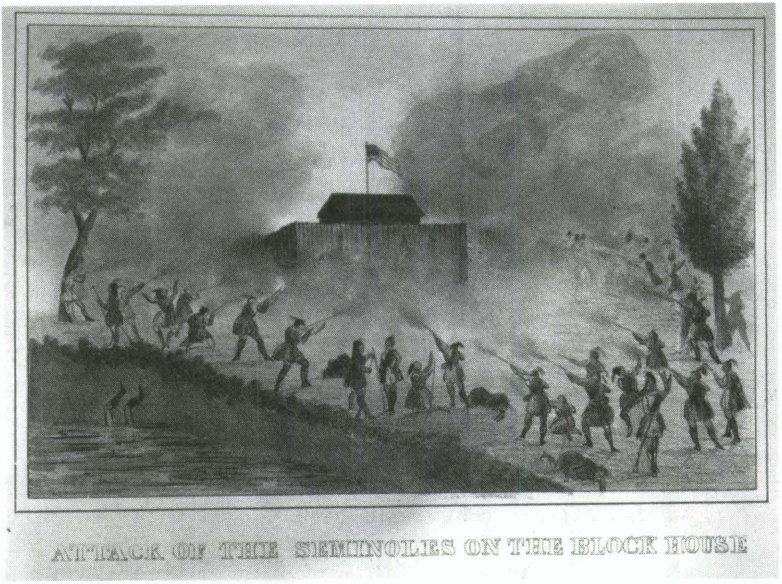
a "party of negroes" in "Letters of Lieutenant John W. Phelps, U. S. A., 1837-1838," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 6 (2), 78. According to Sprague, "Old Primus" became "a faithful interpreter after capture," presumably for the army. Sprague, 112. The "Negro Primus" is also mentioned in Wickman's history of Osceola. According to her account, Primus was still delivering intelligence on Osceola as late as January 1837. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 44, 90. Fellow West Pointer Henry Prince also mentions him, Henry Prince Diary, 29, 30, 32, and 69.

34. Humphreys here indicates that the request came at dusk on April 29, earlier in the day on which he made the entry into his journal. According to Mahon, the order did not reach General Clinch until May 1. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 160.

35. John McLemore. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 159; Tom Knotts, "History of the Blockhouse on the Withlacoochee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (3), 246.

36. Leigh Read of the Florida militia. A man of strong and violent prejudices and a close associate of Governor Call, Read greatly aggravated relations between regulars and citizen soldiers. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 153-54, 161. Some sources spell his last name, "Reed." See Elliott, 309.



A contemporary lithograph from a series on the Seminole War in Florida, *Issued by Gray & James, 1837 Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.*

Governor Call upon this information instead of ordering Col. Reed back with strong reinforcements – sends an express to General Clinch requesting him to go to their relief. A council was immediately held, when it being ascertained that we had not 300 marching men (regulars and volunteers) and that more than one/third of the effective force would probably be unfit for service before arriving at the Ouithlacoochee (as all [were] worn out by the excessive fatigue of the campaign) that the horses were not fit to travel – it was resolved that the relief must go from Sawanee [Suwannee] Old Town, where there is an armed boat and a force of Floridians. The block house being on the west bank of the river added to the difficulty of relief by land, whereas the river being wide up to the depot and the boat having high bulwarks make it by no means a difficult operation by water.

Were we to go down with the small force nowhere fit to fight – the whole Indian force would be upon us and a tragedy more horrid than Dade's would mark another spot upon the Ouithlacoochee. This express gave the first information of a depot having been established on the river.

May 1, 1836

Fort Drane

This morning between two and three o'clock, the adjutant woke me up to request me to furnish a trusty man to ride down to Oaklands[37] for Lt. Symington's[38] Command. "For," said he, "Billy's wife[39] has returned and says that Powell and all the Seminole nation are in a swamp six miles from Fort King, which place they intend to attack on the morning of the 2[d] in three points and set fire to it. After destroying Fort King, Camp Drane will be their next object and then, they will go down and capture

37. Humphreys refers to the plantation as both "Oaklands" and, after its owner, "McIntosh's." Oaklands (on rare occasion also called "Fort Oakland" or simply "Oakland") was the name of a large plantation in Alachua County located about five miles east of Fort Drane and approximately ten miles north of Fort King. The extensive plantation, perhaps the largest in Florida, occupied prime farmland on the lower end of Orange Lake and extended south near the Wetumpka Hammock. The Army later built Fort Wheelock in the immediate vicinity of Oaklands. See map in Hartley, *Osceola: The Unconquered Indian*, 2. The owner of the plantation was John Houston McIntosh, Jr. (1802-1852), who was Duncan Clinch's brother-in-law and the son and namesake of a wealthy Georgia planter and Florida "patriot." Clinch married John's sister, Eliza Bayard McIntosh, in 1819. She died tragically in April 1835 leaving Duncan with six young children. One of the very few available sources on the Oaklands plantation is House Committee on Claims, *John H. McIntosh*, 27th Congress, 2[d] session, 1842, House Report. 470, 1-6. In 1839 John T. Sprague called the McIntosh plantation "once the most extensive in Florida," but the editor of his journal account mistakenly identifies Oaklands as the property of James Simmons McIntosh, John's more famous cousin who fathered two Civil War generals and died a hero in the Mexican War. While certainly James had a prominent presence in the region – he had commanded Fort Brooke for a number of years in the early 1830s – there is no evidence that he held even a small stake in Oaklands plantation. Frank F. White, Jr., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague's Journal Kept during April and May, 1839," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (2), 158-159.

38. Perhaps John Symington, West Point class of 1815. See M. L. Brown, "Notes on U.S. Arsenals, Depots, and Martial Firearms of the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (4), 452, (fn. 24).

39. Here Humphreys is almost certainly speaking of Billy Powell (Osceola) and his wife Che-cho-ter (the Morning Dew), who may have been of Afro-Indian descent. The historical record indicates that they were married around 1821 and hints at her presence at Ft. King in the mid-to-late 1830s. The famed artist George Catlin did a water color much later (in 1849) portraying Osceola with two wives, though, and that may make it impossible to identify "Billy's wife" with absolute confidence. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 14-15, 21, 85. Interestingly, Humphreys' account seems to contradict Mahon's contention that "this sort of treachery did not occur during the Seminole War, largely because Seminole women had little to do with white men." Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 124.

the block house on the Ouithlacoochee." Billy's wife was taken from Fort King a few days before we returned; she states that she was carried to the Cove (or the forks of the Ouithlacoochee), that there the whole Indian nation now is planting. That Primus (our spy, sent into the nation before our march from here to the Indian haunts) was there, tied and guarded. That she escaped from them after she had been taken to the Swamp where the Indians now are. Upon the receipt of this information, Captain [Clifton] Wharton's[40] company [of] dragoons, Lieut. [Ebenezer S.] Sibley's[41] [1st Artillery] company and one six pounder, four wagons of provisions were ordered to march by daylight for Camp King. Lieut. Sibley's company to remain in garrison, the others to return after one day's stay there.

Thus it is that the small force of regulars sustain the burden of the whole war; when a large body of militia is called into the field we starve ourselves to death to provision them and teach them their duty — then they are not willing pupils, but think they confer a great favor by coming to help us (as though it was a private quarrel of ours)! *From the bottom of my heart I wish never to see another militia man in the field.* For they are always homesick and "can't eat pork and hard bread" – one of them said to me (to show me how luxuriously he had been accustomed to living and what great privation he now suffered) that upon my telling him to boil his pork and not fry it – that he had never eaten anything boiled – that they always fried what they eat in his country – this too in a somewhat contemptuous tone as though he despised anyone who could eat such trashy stuff as boiled meats. He was in his country a very respectable man too — what barbarians!

As soon as we get rid of this swarm of locusts, then the enemy show themselves in force and we with a mere handful of men – must fight the only battles that are fought. Why cannot our government send a large regular force at once into the field and terminate the war? Let every force in the seacoast be stripped of its garrisons and then there will be officers and men who can be depended upon.

40. Clifton Wharton. See Henry Prince Diary, 34, 40; Sprague, 123.
41. Ebenezer Sproat Sibley, first in his West Point class of 1827.

May 2, 1836
Fort Drane

It appears that version of Billy's wife's tale given above is not exactly the correct one. The Mickasaukies [Mikasukis] are not so near Camp King but yet remain on their river, waiting for the coming in of their young men who are now out on marauding excursions. It appears that Powell, now the head of the Mickasaukies, has sent frequent runners to Micanopy and Jumper (who have retired with all their men to Pease Creek) asking them to come help him destroy our garrisons – but that they invariably reply that they will not come. So the probability is that we shall have but about 400 Indian warriors to contend with – these are the fellows who boast that they have never been conquered by the whites. How many negroes they will be followed by, I cannot ascertain. These negroes are said to be severely treated by them – the younger children who would require care are killed. Their corn being out the slaves are constantly digging and preparing the coonty root[42] – and if one is absent for without reason or shows a disinclination to work, he is treated in the severest manner. If they were not so strictly guarded many would run to the whites. They are made to fight by being placed in front, where they have no choice. I doubt if the severity exercised to their slaves (all of which I have not noted) is not exaggerated to prevent the negroes here from running away.[43]

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42. More commonly known as the "coontie root" or even "koonti root." For a reference to the root in Florida, see James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), 13, 88; and Joe Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars, 1817-1858* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 2.

43. Humphreys' statements here on the status of African Americans among the Seminoles contrasts sharply with modern perceptions but also with some of his contemporaries. See, for example, General Edmund P. Gaines who (in speaking of the Black man) indicates that "His life among the Indians is one, compared to that of Negroes under overseers, of luxury and ease; the demands on him are very trifling." Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: the Story of the Seminoles* (Cincinnati, OH: Editor Publishing, Co., 1898), 178. For the best treatment on the history of slavery in Florida, see Larry E. Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000). Rivers concludes that Black Seminoles in Florida enjoyed considerable freedom. Also see, Kenneth Porter, et. al, *The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom-Seeking People* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996).

The Indians have made themselves quite merry at our slow marches – [illegible] we travel like gophers.[44] The day we entered the Cove, all these fellows could not have been but a few miles distant from us. And had we upon returning to camp, taken provisions for four or five days and then made a dash at them we should have captured their families and negroes, and then killed or taken them prisoner. There was an impression through the brigade that such was to be the course pursued – and it was with great surprise that the order to march towards Tampa Bay was received.

May 5, 1836

Fort Drane

On the 2[d] [of] May, an express came in from [John Houston] McIntosh's[45] [plantation] with a note from Lt. [Charles B.] Chalmers[46] stating that there were many Indians constantly hovering about the plantation at night – and the overseer [named Wiley Brooks[47]] reported that his negroes were almost in a state of rebellion. And he suspected them of holding communication with the Seminoles. The express rider (a soldier) says that as he was galloping through the hammock about a mile from McIntosh's, at a sudden turn he came upon five or six Indians standing in the road – who gave way for him running to the right and left. They were armed and perhaps were as much surprised at the sudden addition to their numbers as the rider was at finding himself in such company. No doubt they supposed him the first of a numerous party in rear and so took to their heels before they discovered their mistake. The lucky fellow had made such good use of his spurs as to have got out of their reach.

His tracks were afterwards seen by others – so there can be no doubt of the fellow's tale, as indeed his manner before indicated. Captain W. [Wharton] returned from Fort King – all quiet. Captain [Isaac] Seymour's[48] Company volunteered its services and

44. Americans of this period called Florida terrapins (land turtles) "gophers," so Humphreys is more plausibly suggesting that marches moved along at a turtle's pace. Jeff Guinn, *Our Land Before We Die: The Proud Story of the Seminole Negro* (New York: Putnam, 2002), 54.
45. John Houston McIntosh, Jr. See footnote #37 for full account.
46. Charles Bainbridge Chalmers, West Point class of 1834.
47. House Committee on Claims, *John H. McIntosh*, 27[th] Congress, 2[d] session, 1842, House Report 470, 3.
48. Isaac Seymour, a Georgia volunteer from Macon. Wright, 96.

was sent out to scour about Orange Lake – returned without any success – saw numerous trails.

On May 4th, a man came in from Micanopy saying that five or six men had been killed near there. They had imprudently wandered off a mile or more from the settlement to a thick hammock when they were fired upon. Two mortally wounded returned to Micanopy. The others were missing. Of course, the conclusion of the tale was that the woods were filled with Indians, meaning fifteen or twenty.

It had been intended that as soon as the buildings here were completed that one company should be stationed at Micanopy. This news hastened their departure. Captain [Thomas W.] Lendrum[49] was ordered there.

An express from Picolata came in also. It is rumoured that General [Winfield] Scott intends trying a summer campaign. I hate to croak, but I see no reason why hundreds of men should be sacrificed to heal General Scott's wounded vanity. He can not bear that it should be said that it took him a year to subdue Powell and wishes to make use of the six summer months, that it is expected he will remain in summer quarters. It will be an active campaign with us at any rate – and if it were not for the certainly of great sickness and death, I should hope that a campaign might be attempted. If we had with us now 1000 good men in two weeks the war would be closed, that is if Billy's wife's account is a true one. The Mickasauky [Mikasuki] Tribe being the only ones we need subdue – Micanopy would then come in. It is also rumoured that positive orders were received to send to the relief of the block house.

May 14, 1836
Fort Drane

On the 11th, General Clinch retired from the command of the Right Wing, which devolved to Colonel [James] Bankhead[50]. Major Cooper's Battalion marched for Black Creek, General

49. Probably Thomas W. Lendrum. West Point graduate, class of 1815. See Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset," 71, 72. Wright, 88.
50. James Bankhead. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 238; Henry Prince Diary, 21, 24, 39.

Clinch going with it. Since then the buildings have been going on quietly and lazily enough. Today news was brought in that Nero[51] our old negro guide had been shot and scalped near Hog Town. His life has been sought for four years. There is a mail for us at Hog Town (22 miles distant) but as the commanding officers won't send for it, we may kick our heels and learn patience until next winter. I am confident there are letters there for me. I must imagine their contents.

May 20, 1836
Fort Drane

The mail was sent for and I got – nothing. On the evening of the 16th as Lt. Symington with five or six men was riding back to McIntosh's, he was fired upon from the hammock and three men wounded. A charge was made, but uselessly for these Indians slip through the undergrowth like snakes. For three nights the light of a large fire about five or six miles west of us has been observed, always in the same spot. Tonight may bring in a mail, so there is something to think of – to hope for.

May 21, 1836
Fort Drane

Last night did bring in mail, and the four letters from home. They had been 2 months in getting those through. This morning an express from Black Creek arrived. Colonel Bankhead, Captain [Charles] Mellon[52], Captain Wharton, Captain Lendrum, Lt. Chalmers sent orders.

Last night a body of Indians stole all Colonel [Gad] Humphreys's[53] negroes (29 in number) from Micanopy – they were 250 yards beyond the pickets and went off quietly. One cry for

51. Nero had led Scott's right wing during its advance into the Cove. *National Intelligencer.* July 28, 1836. For an additional account of Nero's death, see *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia) June 22, 1836.
52. Charles Mellon. He was killed on February 8, 1837, during a sharp fight with five or six hundred Seminoles at the head of Lake Monroe. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 199.
53. No relation to Andrew A. Humphreys. Originally from New York, Gad Humphreys ranked among the most prominent citizens of the region. He served for many years as the first Seminole Indian Agent (1822-1830) and later turned to agricultural pursuits, first in cooperation with McIntosh on his

help would have saved them, but it appears that they were not unwilling to go. Why is not a company of mounted men sent in pursuit? I blush whilst I ask the question. There is a want of energy in those who command. Broken down *bon vivants*[54] should never command a post in an Indian country.

May 23, 1836
Fort Drane

Last night about 12 o'clock an express came in from Micanopy. It appears that Indian negroes had visited some of Col. Humphreys's two or three nights before they were stolen, told them where they were to be carried off, and tried to induce one of them, a woman, to accompany them (the Indian negroes) at once to the Indians. This she refused, and they threatened her life if she divulged the plan. The night they were carried off, she slept inside the pickets, where to the surprise of many, she was found the next morning. Then she told her story and moreover added that Jumper with between two or three hundred Indians had been in the hammock the night before. That as soon as the negroes were taken care of, he intended to attack Micanopy and at least burn all the houses if not the pickets. They managed to get the negroes in this way. From a hammock 200 yards or more distant, they commenced firing on the pickets. The garrison (30 men, 12 being about) stood to their arms with the intention of rallying out as soon as they (Indians) should leave the shelter of the hammock. This lasts perhaps twenty minutes, during which time the negroes who were in the place, walked off very quietly without being observed. This above being discovered the next morning.

Yesterday, a detachment of 60 men (30 dragoons, 30 artillery with one field piece) was sent out with wagons to deserted houses

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Oaklands Plantation and, later in 1835, on his own homestead called Pilgrimage Plantation in the immediate vicinity of Micanopy. The best source on Gad Humphreys' plantation is House Committee on Claims, *John H. McIntosh*, 27th Congress, 2d session, 1842, House Report 470, 4. Also see House Committee on Claims, *Gad Humphreys*, 29th Congress, 1st session, 1846, House Report 203, 1-5.

54. Humphreys spells it "bon vivans." A *bon vivant* is "a person who lives luxuriously and enjoys good food and drink" or "a jovial companion." *Random House College Dictionary.*

about 6 miles distant for forage. Whilst Lt. [David E.] Hale[55] with a party was loading at one house, Captain [Daniel D.] Tompkins[56] ? mile distant at another, Lt. [Thompson B.] Wheelock[57] took 15 dragoons and whilst scouring around came across a trail which after following 2 miles terminated at a third house where, when about 200 or 300 yards distant, they perceived about 30 or 40 Indians, some shelling corn, others standing about. Both parties discovered each other's presence about the same time. "Charge" was the command and with a shout they galloped on. For a moment the Indians stood, then fled like deer to a heavy hammock not one hundred yards distant and in a direction directly from the dragoons. It was not deemed prudent to pursue them further as they were all armed and only ten dragoons could be dismantled for the purpose. The spoils were nine Indian ponies, upon one of which the last of them, a half witted fellow of Micanopy who has a great penchant for the dragoons, was mounted by one of his riding friends. However, Captain T. [Tompkins] soon dismounted him and much to his disappointment, as he already conceived himself half a dragoon as he rode a pony saddleless. He was not to be thwarted in his aspirations so easily, and in spite of constant watching managed to walk with the dragoons and keep an eye on the ragged pot bellied little horses that had so nearly placed him on the pinnacle of happiness – a new dragoons saddle.

May 25, 1836

Fort Drane

It having been determined a week ago by a council of war to break up Fort King, which determination having been sent to General Scott and no answer received – it was again determined to abandon it at once. Accordingly, 15 wagons were sent there this morning, escorted by a company of dragoons, 2 companies of artillery and one field piece. All public property is to be brought to

55. David Emerson Hale, West Point class of 1833.
56. Daniel D. Tompkins, West Point class of 1820. Sprague, 552. His uncle, also Daniel D. Tompkins, was the Governor of New York from 1807-1817 and later served as Vice President of the United States on the ticket with James Monroe in 1816 and again in 1820.
57. Thompson B. Wheelock, West Point class of 1822. He committed suicide at Micanopy in June 1836.

this post – and the buildings left standing uninjured. The reasons for abandoning Fort King were: It affords no protection to property or persons being advanced in the Indian country and nearly 60 miles from any occupied settlement and 22 from this post, the most advanced of all settlements that have been occupied. It does not prevent the Indians passing into the settlements as the garrison cannot venture twenty *paces* from the pickets. We cannot provision it and from the reduced condition of the horses and from increasing sickness of our men we should not be able to send the wagon there again this summer, for want of an escort – and they are now out of provisions. It never has been useful as a depot this war and never will be used as such on any future occasion. It was not chosen with a military view, but being the residence of the agent, troops were kept here.[58] The inhabitants of Alachua have assembled to the amount of some hundred – a great proportion [were] women and children – at Newnansville and implored our protection.

May 26, 1836
Fort Drane

An express from Black Creek came in a letter to Col. Bankhead, informing him that General Scott has left the territory for Washington. General Eustis now commands, and he directs that Fort King be abandoned – part of its garrison sent to Newnansville, and the remainder to Santaffee [Santa Fe] River, on Black Creek road.

June 19, 1836
Fort Drane

Upon 28th May marched (as part of the escort to wagons) to Black Creek and upon returning arrived at Micanopy at noon on [the] 8th [of] June. An express sent to Oaklands by Major [Julius Frederick] Heileman[59] was fired at by a large party of Indians, negroes, hardly half a mile from the pickets at Micanopy. Upon

58. The site was at one time the residence of Gad Humphreys, Indian Agent. See Eloise R. Ott, "Fort King: A Brief History," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (1), 30.

59. Julius Frederick Heileman, West Point class of 1806. Some sources spell the last name "Heilman."

the crack of the rifles, [George H.] Talcott who was outside, set off in pursuit with about ten or twelve men – then Wheelock with about 20 dragoons and then myself with about 20 or 30 men. We ran about two miles without any success. Talcott[60] came upon about 15 or 20 Indians and negroes who took to their heels. Two or three parties of them were seen in different directions, but none were overtaken.

The next day about 9 o'clock, the crack of two rifles was heard at the same place that the express had been fired at – then after a minute's pause, two more – evidently a challenge or a ruse to draw out a small party and finally inveigle them into an ambuscade.

Our commands were formed – first Captain [Richard Bland] Lee[61] was ordered to move down on the right in the direction of the road to Oaklands, passing through or skirting a narrow thin hammock. He had about 20 noncoms and privates. Then Wheelock with about 23 or 24 dragoons was ordered to proceed in a direction parallel with Lee's some distance to the left. My company had been on guard the night before, and I supposed that it was not to be sent out as several minutes elapsed after Wheelock's departure without receiving any directions. I was upon the point of dismissing it when Major Heileman ordered me to follow the motions of the dragoons and support them. They had gone off in a gallop some minutes before. I marched off in a single file with about 25 noncoms and privates. About midway between the other parties when between a quarter and half a mile from the pickets I heard the firing of the dragoons and the Indian yells and rifles, apparently about 400 yards in advance – although they were hid from me by a projecting point of the thin hammock above mentioned, which I was about entering – and from my being in a hollow. After about one volley, the firing ceased, and at this moment I perceived Captain Lee about 100 yards in advance and on the opposite side of the thin hammock. I called to him "Let us understand each other's movements. Shall I bear to the left of the hammock?" His answer was, "Yes." Which doing, in 3 or 4 minutes afterwards Lee's men commenced firing and ordering my com-

60. George Henry Talcott, West Point class of 1831 (same class as Humphreys)
61. Richard Bland Lee, West Point class of 1817. Richard was the older first cousin of Robert E. Lee.

mand into line, they commenced the same work immediately. The Indians were hid in the long grass and scrubby bushes and behind the pine trees. The first intimation you have of their presence was the sharp crack and smoke of their rifles. As we advanced, which we continued to do at a rapid pace, we passed a dying horse which had been shot belonging to the dragoons and that moaned most piteously. To the aft I perceived some 7 or 8 dragoons which advanced with our line. I supposed the others were on our right. I urged the men to advance with a run – but as soon as they got within good shooting distance, they would invariably fire. If we had had but one or two more officers with the foot, we might perhaps have overtaken the Indians and come to personal conflict – But Captain Lee was severely wounded in the first firing and so I was the only officer with the artillery. A large body of Indians was then some distance in our front running off to our left, evidently with the intention of outflanking us and finally putting us between two fires. To counteract this, I ordered an extension to the left and a few men to follow a single file and at twelve paces at least apart on the left. After driving the enemy nearly a mile, we approached the great hammock which runs to Orange Lake in which those in our front took shelter. Our line was oblique to the hammock, our right being near to it and our left some distance off. The Indians on the left had not entered the hammock but seemed disposed to carry out their project of putting us between the two fires. There was a momentary pause, which I took advantage of to run to the extreme right and see how matters were going on there for from the thin hammock above mentioned I could not see distinctly that [illegible] force. I then learnt that Capt. Lee was badly wounded and pressed his company on my right. Upon returning to the left to make arrangements for driving off the enemy on the left, up came the six pounder, Lt. Talcott arming it and firing four shots. Those on the left took shelter in the hammock.

I forgot to mention that when moving off to the right, Page,[62] one of my company, called attention to a man of E Company about 100 yards in far front and about 20 or 30 yards from the hammock. Knowing that he could shelter himself perfectly well until the line advanced to where he was, if there should be anyone in his front. I did not order the men forward because I wished to give the [illeg-

62. Unknown.

ible] company orders for driving off those on the left before setting the whole in motion. In a minute or two afterwards, as I was re-passing Page, I asked him if he could go out to bring in a wounded man. I immediately ordered several to advance for that purpose, and they brought in the fellow before mentioned. It appears that he was drunk and (as the men told me) kept marching up and down in bravado until some redskin put a bullet in him. He was not badly wounded.

After firing one or two shots with the six pounder, Talcott said to me "Now do you charge the hammock with the two companies?" to which I replied that I considered it useless. For if the enemy are near us, they are on the edge of the hammock, from which place, perfectly hid themselves, they may take deliberate aim as we advance and fire when about 50 or 60 yards distant, then retreat as they have done all this morning. And we shall only lose some men and perhaps not get a shot at one of the enemy. This is the well known habit of the enemy, and they are well acquainted with the one or two trails which we need to penetrate it, of which we know nothing. The hammock, Mr. [George] Center[63] tells me, is 15 or 20 miles in length and several in breadth. We have already driven the enemy a mile and silenced his fire. An advance into the hammock cannot result to our advantage. For if they are waiting there for us, it is only to give the first fire and then run and secrete themselves. I had endeavored to penetrate this hammock on the preceding day and had managed to get one or two hundred yards in it by dint of creping and knew that any one to get that distance into it must bestow all his attention to his own movements. If it had been a small hammock out of which we could have driven them, I should have charged at once. Talcott [illegible] said that he wanted the hammock charged because we could say then that we had done it. But I considered it the merest piece of folly to enter the hammock where there was a strong body of the enemy on the left who, if we should have succeeded in penetrating it some hundred yards, could have unperceived carried out their plan of turning our left flank.

63. George Center, a close associate of Gad Humphreys, owned and operated a large cotton gin in Micanopy in the mid-1830s. He also captained a volunteer company that defended the small community until it was garrisoned by U.S. troops and before the construction of Fort Defiance. For more information, see his petition for federal compensation. *House Report No. 204*, February 10, 1846, U.S. House of Representatives, 29th Congress, 1st session, 1-3.

Something to the right attracted my attention, and whilst absent giving directions, they fired the six pounder and were about discharging it again when I turned to the piece. And calling to Wheelock and Talcott – who had been conversing together in my absence – asked "What determination have you come to – shall I charge or not." Upon the firing of the field piece, they answered "No. Let us return." A round shot was discharged and which was answered by one or two guns about a quarter mile in the hammock. Those on horseback and others who could see the enemy plainly from the rear estimated their numbers at 150. I formed no estimate of their numbers but they were numerous and well managed. A [illegible] Indian some distance in our front was seen by the horsemen directing the movements and energetically waving his arm to his right – which motive his followers understand well enough.

We returned to Micanopy in common time. For a part of the distance, I kept the men in open order, as we had advanced, and in addition the front and rear rank man halting alternately.

I was within speaking distance of Wheelock for the first time just as the six pounder came up and asked him where his men were. He replied "here are all that are left," pointing to some 7 or 8 with him. "I do not know what has become of the rest – I expect they have been cut to pieces." When at leisure, he afterwards told me that he had divided his command and, when about a quarter mile from pickets, giving his sergeant command of 10 men with orders to move down to the right side of the thin hammock before mentioned, whilst he galloped down the left. He dashed among the Indians hid in the long grass and bushes who opened a fire upon him, yelling like devils, when about 30 yards distant – some even closer. This fire was returned but several horses were wounded, one or two killed, 3 or four men wounded and some unhorsed, leaving him but 7 or 8 men. The detachment of 10 men under the sergeant was also fired at when close upon the Indians. The two most advanced, the sergeant and a private, cut off from the others and obliged to take the road to Oaklands. One or two horses killed – some wounded and one or two men wounded, and I believe one or two unhorsed. On the right was an immense pond (Tuscawilla Lake) around which one fellow whose horse was killed and who had discharged his rifle, was pursued by three or four Indians. He escaped however and made his way to the pickets, fainting. The rest

I presume must have returned to the pickets as they did not know of the footmen who were advancing, and I saw nothing of them in the skirmishing. Several Indians were seen to fall, but were dragged off instantly and from the rapid manner in which it was done, evidently rather to save the scalp than the life of the wounded.

About two hours after our return to the pickets, and express was sent to Oaklands with orders for the commanding officer there to abandon his post and destroy everything that might be useful to the enemy. He passed safely. The preceding night an express had gone to Oaklands by way of Fort Drane and returned with exciting news. About the beginning of June, a plot had been discovered among General Clinch's negroes by which it appeared that they had held constant intercourse with the Indians and were, on the night of the day that the discovery was made, to have gone off with a party of Seminoles, who were to have made a feint upon the pickets so that it might appear that the negroes were forced off. Their bundles were already made up and they began disposing of some of their truck to the soldiers, which causing suspicion, finally led to their detection. One of the negro women in the end confessing the plot. Upon the overseer's going to the negro houses, a woman warned him away and then told him that the Indians were lying in wait not 50 yards ahead to shoot him. He returned at once to the pickets and a detachment was sent out that bought in all the negroes who were at once confined – six of them ironed.

The night before our arrival at Micanopy, 40 or 50 Indians made their appearance at the negro houses, but were immediately dislodged by Lt. [William S.] Maitland[64] and pursued about a mile into the great hammock near the estate. He returned about sunset and had just entered the pickets when from 2 to 3 hundred Indians showed themselves at a distance in the fields – they were dispersed by the artillery.

Owing to the weakness of the garrison, the guard had been withdrawn from the sugar house, a quarter of a mile distant from the pickets. In the night the Indians stole noiselessly to that building and setting it on fire as quietly withdrew so that when it was

64. William Seton Maitland, West Point class of 1820. He committed suicide by drowning himself while on leave in South Carolina on August 19, 1837.

discovered in a blaze, they were safely sheltered in the hammock. On the day of this night upwards of 200 Indians made their appearance in McIntosh's fields in those parallel columns, but were a quarter to a half mile distant from the pickets and burned the sugar house, which they could do with impunity as the garrison consisted of but 27 men and there was no artillery. They afterward fired upon the pickets from an adjoining hammock without any injury to them. Upon the abandonment of the post, a quantity of sugar, cotton and corn having been left, the commanding officer at Fort Drane ordered Lt. [Robert E.] Temple[65] to take twenty mounted men (all that could be mustered) upon the succeeding night and destroy it. Before arriving at the pickets, you must pass through a hammock near a mile wide which almost encircling the plantation and extends for many miles. Upon leaving which you are at once upon the plantation and in a narrow lane, bounded on either side by high fences, after following which for a half a mile or better, you are before the pickets, which are on the left hand side. Upon emerging then from the hammock, Temple perceived the house and pickets in a blaze. He halted the body of his command about 3 or 400 yards from the house and proceeded towards it with four men. Upon their approach an Indian dog ran off towards the fire with a sharp yelp. Temple however went up direct to the burning pickets in the full glow of which he stood, whilst the men took brands and set fire to the houses containing the sugar and corn, which were about 30 or 40 paces nearer the lane (the houses being about 100 distant) – during the whole of which time, Indian voices were heard in eager and rapid conversation, evidently laying a plan for the destruction of the party, all of whom were visible in the light made by the blazing pile. When the store houses were well enveloped in flame, which was not until 15 or 20 minutes after the arrival of the party, Temple returned to his command, and they all set off at full speed down the lane. Just as the last man was passing into the hammock, the rush of many persons was heard, and an Indian springing upon the fence breathing hard as though he had run fast and far. A few minutes later and the ambuscade would have been laid – and the accomplishers of the most gallant enterprise that has been undertaken during the war would not have returned, as they

65. Robert Emmet Temple. West Point class of 1828.

happily did scathless. The second day after our skirmish we arrived at Fort Drane, a strong detachment meeting us half way.

June 23, 1836

Fort Drane

All is quietness and indolence. My only objection to this mode of life is that it will in a measure unfit me for the pursuits which I have marked out for myself upon the termination of these difficulties. Tomorrow brings a mail – Friday's the day we all look to now, instead of shunning as sailors do.

July 23, 1836

Fort Drane

The first intimation we had of the return of the Mickasaukies from their green corn dance[66] was their killing and scalping Sergeant [John] Jacobus[67] of the Dragoons about 10 days ago, who with a companion (both on horses and without arms) was carelessly looking after melons in the corn fields about ? mile from the pickets. His companion escaped with a wounded horse.[68] One or two nights after this occurrence, an Indian crept along a fence to within 10 or 12 paces of the sentinel on the blacksmith's shop and fired at him (missing his aim though) and then ran off yelping. I believe the sentinel was half asleep. The Indian decamped in such a hurry that he left his knife and [illegible] on the fence. The sentinel, too, instead of returning the fire, ran for the pickets. Why he was not punished for his disgraceful conduct, I leave it for others to say.

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66. According to John Mahon, the "Green Corn" dance or "busk" was the principal ceremony of Seminole culture. During the ceremony, which might occur any time from late April to early July, "rituals vital to the continuance of the Seminole culture went forward. It was not only a source of great pleasure to the people, but more important it helped to hold them together as a society. Here were displayed for the only time during the year the symbolic objects, given by the Great Spirit, which the Seminoles needed to carry on their collective life." Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 13.
67. John Jacobus was "killed by the enemy" on July 18, 1836. Sprague, 527.
68. John Bemrose, a talented young hospital steward who served in Florida through much of the war and later wrote of his experiences, has much to add to the story of the melon episode. John Bemrose, *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, ed. John K. Mahon (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1966), 101.

Having received permission to break up this post from its excessive sickliness on the morning of the 19th [of July], the movement was commenced. A train of 22 four horse wagons with an escort of 80 noncoms and privates and a howitzer started for Micanopy. Officers [were] Captain [James A.] Ashby[69], Dragoons, and Lieutenants Maitland and [Robert H. Kirkwood] Whitely[70], artillery. When about ? mile distant from Micanopy, the train was attacked by a large body of Indians (estimated between 2 and 3 hundred) from an extensive hammock. The fire was returned with spirit and the howitzer played among them. Lieutenant Temple came up from Micanopy with 31 men and the hammock was charged and the enemy driven beyond the fire of our troops. Captain Ashby was severely wounded in the neck and Assistant Surgeon [Robert C.] Weightman[71] in the thigh. Five men were mortally wounded (3 since dead), 3 severely and 1 slightly. Three horses killed and several wounded. One Indian was left dead and many must have been killed and wounded, as they were exposed to a close fire from the howitzer loaded with canister. The men at this piece were marked out and I think four were wounded at it. At one time, Lt. Whitely was the only one left there. Captain Ashby refused to quit the field when wounded, until so faint from loss of blood that he could no longer resist being borne from it.[72]

As it will be necessary to make at least 6 trips before we can remove all our public property, we should be exposed 12 times to attack from a very superior number of the enemy. It was expedient therefore for the train to remain at Micanopy until re-enforcements could arrive either from Black Creek or Newnansville. The escort should be 200 strong – but I do not believe we shall be able to increase it to that strength.

On the 16th [of] June, Lt. Wheelock fell by his own hand at Micanopy. He had been unwell and was, I believe, insane at the

69. James A. Ashby of the Second Dragoons. Ashby later played a central role in the capture of Osceola. Mahan, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 214-215.
70. Robert H. Kirkwood Whitely, West Point class of 1830.
71. Richard C. Weightman. He died of disease on October 30, 1841, after many years of valuable service in Florida.
72. This engagement was called the Battle of Welika Pond.

time. On the 27th [of] June, Major Heileman died of jaundice, a loss which cannot be supplied. These two deaths gloom over our sickly circle. Two days before Major Heileman's death, he was brevetted Lt. Col. for his meritorious conduct on 9th June. [Daniel S.] Herring[73] too died about the same time at St. Augustine – poor fellow, with his talents and ambition to die so young was indeed hard. I lived in the same rooms with him at Augusta [arsenal] for several months – I knew him well – and deeply do I deplore his loss.

73. Daniel S. Herring, West Point class of 1826

Book Reviews

Faces on the Frontier: Florida Surveyors and Developers in the 19th Century. By Joe Knetsch. (Cocoa, FL: The Florida Historical Society Press, 2006. Preface, introduction, illustrations, maps, notes, index. Pp. xiii, 214. $23.95, paper.)

The process by which federal land was surveyed and sold constituted the most pressing concern to the vast majority of early settlers on the American frontier in the nineteenth century. No other issue came close—not politics, not religion—not even war and peace. While some historians have recognized the importance of the issue, it is remarkable that relatively few historians have written on the subject. Malcolm J. Rohrbough, Paul Gates, and others have contributed much to our understanding of surveying and selling of public lands in American history. But no one has studied the subject in Florida more thoroughly or comprehensively than Joe Knetsch, historian for the Division of State Lands, Florida Department of Environmental Protection. Much of his painstaking research in Florida's public land records is brought together in this readable and engaging book.

According to Knetsch, Florida's "numerous swamps, rivers, streams, lakes, ponds, bayous . . . all were expensive to survey. But the settlers wanted the land, the government needed the money and Florida got surveyed in spite of itself" (1). Florida's diverse and difficult terrain, its oppressive climate, its hostile Indians, recalcitrant squatters—all made the surveyor's job extremely difficult, if not physically dangerous. Particularly vexing for surveyors were Spanish land grants such as the Forbes Purchase and the Arredondo Grant that continued unsettled long into the territorial period.

Faces on the Frontier is a history of surveying public lands in Florida as experienced through surveyors general, surveyors, and

developers. Knetsch puts a human face on the subject by using biographical sketches on practitioners of the surveyors' craft. Few of Knetsch's subjects are known today, but he argues persuasively for their importance for a fuller understanding of the state's past. Essays on surveyors general Robert Butler, Benjamin Putnam, John Westcott, and Francis Littleberry Dancy make up the first part of the book; surveyors Sam Reid, John Jackson, D. A. Spaulding, Marcellus Stearns, Benjamin Clements, R. W. B. Hodgson, and Charles H. Goldsborough make up the second part. A final section on developers Sam Hope, Albert Gilchrist, and Hamilton Disston round out the book. While most of these essays have been previously published as essays in *Florida Surveyor, Sunland Tribune, El Escribano,* and other periodicals, they work well as an interesting introduction to the process by which the Florida Peninsula was surveyed and developed in the nineteenth century.

Knetsch reminds his readers of the close connection of state and national politics to the appointment and work of the surveyors. Surveyors held federal appointment, and thus political connections as well as surveying skills were necessary attributes to obtaining the position. Florida's first Surveyor General Robert Butler owed his appointment to his close personal relationship to Andrew Jackson. So did Benjamin Clements. Nearly all of Florida's early surveyors had military backgrounds. Some like John Westcott, Francis Littleberry Dancy, and Albert Gilchrist attended West Point. Others such as Benjamin Putnam and Charles Goldsborough were assisted in their aspirations for office by their links to prominent families. Ties to wealth were important for early Florida surveyors, because, as Knetsch explains, there were "substantial up-front overhead costs which had to be borne by the surveyor. This meant that most of the early surveyors had to have some wealth to perform their contracts or be backed by those who did, most often indicated by those who backed the surveyor's bond" (154).

Florida surveying followed the natural settlement patterns of the state and Knetsch turns last to the surveying and development of the lower peninsula as seen through the experiences of Sam Hope, Albert Gilchrist, and Hamilton Disston. Hope surveyed the region east of the Peace River in the years preceding the Civil War before becoming a politician-developer in the Anclote River area. Gilchrist surveyed the Charlotte Harbor region near the turn of the century before becoming governor in

1908. Knetsch's last essay covers Philadelphia tool and dye manufacturer Hamilton Disston's scheme to transform four million acres of swamp land north of Lake Okeechobee into farm land. Controversial at the time, the project foundered but as Knetsch reminds us, it did transform lower Florida. Knetsch's coverage of the Disston project's impact on settlement, town formation, and the introduction of new agricultural crops in lower Florida is the best in print. Knetsch uses primary documents to both chronicle the project and explode a number of the long-held myths associated with Disston, especially Disston's purported suicide which he seriously questions.

The author's slightly heroic language, a number of typographical errors, and the lack of a bibliography, are a few shortcomings; but these caveats are more than made up by the depth of Knetsch's original research. For those seeking an accessible, engaging introduction to surveying on the Florida frontier in the nineteenth century *Faces on the Frontier* is the place to start.

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The Invincible Duff Green: Whig of the West. By W. Stephen Belko. (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2006. Acknowledgments, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 483. $44.95 cloth.)

Duff Green was a fantastic character. Politician, journalist, freelance diplomat, and inveterate schemer, he could be found, usually lurking in the shadows just off center stage, in practically every major political event from the Missouri crisis to the Civil War. In frontier Missouri, he helped to galvanize opposition to slavery's restriction and then to draft the new state's constitution. Brought to Washington to edit the *United States' Telegraph*, he masterminded the publicity juggernaut that elected Andrew Jackson in 1828, then played an inside role in the Peggy Eaton and Seminole War controversies that severed Green and his ally John C. Calhoun from Jackson's budding Democracy. Green cropped up again in the 1840s in Mexico and England, busily fomenting Texas annexation as an unofficial agent of the Tyler administration, and again in the secession crisis, as a private emissary from outgoing president James Buchanan to the incoming Abraham Lincoln. His last

significant political foray was a failed effort to mediate between Lincoln and Confederate president Jefferson Davis in 1864. Meanwhile Green's far-flung ventures in land speculation, railroads, shipping, manufacturing, and mining, beginning before 1820 and continuing through Reconstruction, made for a career in their own right. A bold and visionary entrepreneur, Green dreamed big and bet big, gaining and losing several fortunes.

Green's personality was as outsized as his deeds. He was pugnacious and self-righteous, a braggart and a blowhard. Yet despite his vindictiveness and self-importance, he became a consummate backstairs operator, a master of political intrigue. Supremely well-connected, though never widely liked, he knew everybody who mattered. He had a close family connection with John C. Calhoun and a distant one with Abraham Lincoln, and consorted with both.

A grotesque like Duff Green both invites and frustrates biography. His escapades could fill a dozen monographs; his devious and overblown personality challenges the skills of a novelist. Green has inspired at least four doctoral dissertations just since 1980, yet W. Stephen Belko's *The Invincible Duff Green* is, somewhat amazingly, the first full biography ever to reach print.

Belko paints Green as "the quintessential Jacksonian American and Democrat"—"contentious, boisterous, and dynamic" (7, 447). Stubborn, suspicious, a fervent nationalist and unswerving republican, Green resembled no one so much as Andrew Jackson himself. Belko implicitly takes issue with historians who see the essence of Jacksonian Democracy in resistance to the so-called "market revolution." Duff Green spent much of his life forging the very instruments of modern capitalism—corporations, transportation networks, concentrations of finance and industry—that, according to these scholars, Jacksonian Democrats aimed to destroy.

Belko also contests the common picture of Green as a proslavery zealot and Calhoun acolyte. He stresses Green's independence, showing that he often ignored Calhoun's advice and pursued his own path. No narrow sectionalist, Green abhorred disunion (though he ultimately threw in with the Confederacy) and never justified slavery in the abstract. Rather, as a nationalist, he dreaded the corrosive agitation of sectional differences and condemned abolitionists and Green's favorite devils, the British, for fomenting it. A true Jacksonian, his defining political character was western, not southern.

Here Belko's argument verges on special pleading. It is true that Green spoke in national terms. But his primary conception of national policy and even national duty was the defense of slavery. Like Calhoun, he regarded safeguarding slavery as the federal government's paramount obligation and damned as a sectionalist anyone who disagreed. As Belko shows, Green and Calhoun diverged over political tactics, at times endorsing opposing presidential candidates and tracing different, though equally convoluted, paths into and out of Whig and Democratic party alliances. (Belko's *Whig of the West* subtitle is a baffling misnomer, which not only oversimplifies Green's political trajectory but contradicts his purported Democratic representativeness). But if Green was not Calhoun's lackey, he was certainly his lifelong ally. The two never differed fundamentally.

Belko brands Green as a sectional moderate, though his own evidence speaks otherwise. A fuller look at Green's later career, including his stint with the Confederacy, might illuminate the question. But Belko, out of gas (or perhaps having exhausted his publisher's patience) after 440 pages of dense chronicle, wraps up Green's post-1850 doings in a cursory handful of pages.

He also pays short shrift to Green's business ventures. While Belko walks the reader at length through the familiar saga of Washington politics during Green's stint at the *Telegraph*, he paints Green the entrepreneur in broad strokes, sometimes merely listing his many investments and projects. Green's methods in business, unlike his tactics as a political operator, never come into clear focus. This undercuts Belko's character portrait in several ways. First, without an appreciation of Green the capitalist, it is hard to grasp why such an obstreperous and difficult man—and one who, Belko to the contrary, was a terrible political prognosticator with sometimes fantastically bad judgment—commanded any political influence. Second, given Green's monumental egotism and penchant for self-promotion, readers are left wondering which of his myriad business schemes were substantive and which were just smoke.

Indeed, it may be that in viewing Green as a politician first and entrepreneur second we have got him all backwards. After a long discussion of Green's transatlantic lobbying for lower tariff rates in the early 1840s, Belko startles the reader by saying "Green's entire crusade on behalf of free trade and a commercial reciprocity agreement between the United States and England . . . developed from the personal necessity of protecting his mountain invest-

ment" in coal and iron lands (415). If true, might this insight be pushed further? Could all of his political maneuvers have been driven by business concerns? Was moneymaking, not politics, his real vocation? If so, Green comes out a rather different sort of nationalist, one steered more by the idea of a national marketplace than a national republic.

Immersed in Green's abundant manuscripts, Belko strives to keep his distance from his subject, but only partially succeeds. Well aware of Green's peculiarities, he nonetheless at times slips into chronicling events from Green's often distorted perspective. Weighed down by repetition and plodding prose, the narrative flags. Any life of Duff Green plugs a conspicuous hole in the literature. Still this incredible character awaits a biographer with the flair to capture him in full.

Daniel Feller *University of Tennessee*

Contested Borderland: The Civil War in Appalachian Kentucky and West Virginia. By Brian D. McKnight. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2006.Acknowledgments, illustrations, map, notes, index. Pp.ix, 312. $40 cloth.)

Civil War historians commonly divide the country into three regions – the East, the West, and the Trans-Mississippi West – in order to make sense of the different "theaters of war" during the conflict. We know a great deal about the center stages of these theaters. Studies of central and northern Virginia, central Tennessee, northern and central Georgia, and the lower Mississippi River Valley abound. But the action on the margins remains obscure. A handful of studies – Michael Fellman on Missouri, Philip Paludan on North Carolina, Victoria Bynum on Mississippi – tell the story of communities out of the spotlights, but the Appalachian region in particular has resisted easy interpretation. *Contested Borderlands* addresses this problem by focusing on the Cumberland Gap region, where the states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee meet. McKnight's goal is to explain the war experience for both Confederates and Unionists and soldiers and civilians in this region and in this he succeeds.

The Cumberland Gap itself changed hands several times during the war, as did other mountain passes in the area, but McKnight's

main story chronicles the steady advance of Union power and the equally steady erosion of Confederate control. The narrative moves chronologically, beginning with a brief overview of the late antebellum period, and toggles back and forth between home front and battlefront. Southeastern Kentucky and southwestern Virginia occupy the center of the story and the differences in these two places during the pre-war years presage the distinct experiences each had during the conflict. Southwestern Virginia counties had higher rates of slaveholding and were more fully integrated into national trading networks thanks to the Virginia and East Tennessee Railroad. As a result, the people of this region manifested stronger support for the Confederacy. In pre-war Kentucky, the opposite characteristics defined the region, and as a result, many more residents stayed loyal to the Union through the war.

McKnight chronicles the region's military narrative in close detail, particularly the travails of Confederate commander Humphrey Marshall, whose frequent resignations put him in the running for most petulant Civil War general. McKnight ably explains Marshall's failures to defend the region for the Confederacy, focusing on the problems of manpower, supply, and disease. McKnight does integrate his account of the home front into the military narrative, but even more analysis of civilian life in Appalachia would have enriched the book. McKnight tells more than he shows of the hard life for local residents. He argues that shifts in control of the region and the continual presence of rapacious armies made life uncertain at best and inhibited the willingness of civilians to endorse either side too strongly. This seems plausible but more evidence from civilians would have strengthened this argument.

McKnight's book offers compelling accounts of just how nasty the border war became. Away from the well defined battlefields of the major theaters, partisans in the conflict seized every opportunity to enact violence upon each other. Beginning in 1861 and increasing in frequency and intensity through the rest of the war, guerilla conflict dominated the region. In southwestern Virginia, Unionists and Confederate deserters battled with Confederate regulars and civilians. In southweastern Kentucky and eastern Tennessee, the opposite dynamic prevailed. There, relative Union strength forced Confederate partisans to move underground and subsist on hit-and-run attacks on the regular army and their Unionists neighbors. This experience of the Civil War, which still sits far outside our popular

memories of the conflict, must have generated struggles for years to come. McKnight suggests, in the book's conclusion, that former partisans showed "remarkable resilience in their attempts at reconciliation." (p.227) McKnight does not offer enough evidence to make a persuasive case on this point and it is one of the tantalizing threads that future scholars of the region should follow.

Last, McKnight invokes Stephen Ash's study of occupied places in the Confederacy on a number of occasions as a way to establish the theoretical framework for what he sees happening in the region. McKnight's portrait of the region as torn by national loyalties and further fractured by the personal conflicts that bubbled up in the chaos of war certainly fulfills Ash's description of the "no man's land," the spaces where both armies contested for control. The richness of McKnight's sources, however, calls for a more analytical summary. Rather than using the region to confirm an established view, McKnight might have drawn from his research a more specific and nuanced explanation of how the residents of central Appalachia struggled with the each other and the war to produce a new America. Among the questions raised by his evidence are the extent to which differences in national loyalty can be explained by slaveholding, political identity, wealth, or historical experience. Did the partisan fighting of the war shape the postwar political alignments? How does the experience of guerilla conflict in the Appalachian region relate to the questions about the Civil War as a "hard war?" Although this reader would have appreciated hearing how McKnight himself assesses these issues, it is a measure of the effectiveness of his book that he stimulates so many questions that cross the boundaries of Civil War history.

Aaron Sheehan-Dean *University of North Florida*

The Rosenwald Schools of the American South. By Mary S. Hoffschwelle. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. Series: New Perspectives on the History of the South. Foreword, acknowledgements, photos, drawings, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xx, 402. $39.95 cloth.)

In her study of *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, Mary Hoffschwelle, a professor of history at Middle Tennessee State University, unravels the philanthropic, architectural, and bureau-

cratic strands that make up the complicated fabric of the Rosenwald school-building program. Erected in fifteen southern states in the years between 1912 and 1932, Rosenwald schools changed the landscape of thousands of rural communities. As the structures evolved from small buildings intended for one teacher to large community edifices offering not only multiple classes but also secondary instruction, they became physical representations of the ideological debates over the nature of education for African Americans in the region. Although the model school buildings took their name from the Chicago philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, their origin lay in the community initiatives of Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute. The program was administered centrally – first from Tuskegee and then from Nashville – but its success depended on the cooperation of state and local officials with community activists. The impact of this school-building program was immense: "One of every five African American schools in the South was a Rosenwald school when the Rosenwald school-building program ended in 1932" (1).

The various architectural designs discussed in the volume illustrate the importance of material culture to our understanding of the history of education in the rural South. The school plans show a shift from "an effort to produce better school buildings for African American communities" to "an intensive campaign for model schools that could lead the South's drive for modern public education" (85). *The Community School Plans* produced by Samuel L. Smith and Fletcher B. Dresslar in 1921 (and revised in 1927, 1928, and 1931) oriented structures and placed windows to take advantage of natural lighting and ventilation. Sanitation was also a priority. In order to be funded, schools had to be constructed and furnished according to the proposed plans. Thus, "[a]t a time when most rural African American schools had no toilets at all, and many white rural schools had only squalid facilities, two properly constructed and painted privies advertised a Rosenwald school as a model school" (111). What Hoffschwelle finds fascinating is that such plans "created a visual vocabulary for southern rural schools that crossed the color line and suggested that all students could and should learn in professionally designed instructional environments" (113).

By the 1920s, African Americans were engaged in raising the matching funds necessary to construct or expand secondary as well as elementary schools. Hoffschwelle also notes that the success of

the rural school building program led to an interest on the part of urban communities to acquire Rosenwald funds. By the time of Rosenwald's death and the Rosenwald Foundation's termination of the program in 1932, "Rosenwald schools housed one-third of the South's African American public school pupils and teachers and accounted for one-fifth of the South's black public schools and just under one-third of their property value" (272). The consequences of the building program, Hoffschwelle contends, reached far beyond the classroom itself. "Working within the building program's guidelines, black southerners gained access to the growing power of southern educational bureaucracies and the public revenues....Rosenwald schools made it possible for more children to attend school for longer terms and to advance through higher grade levels, contributing to overall increases in African American school attendance and literacy, as well as to the decline in child labor" (272-273).

As part of the University Press of Florida's New Perspectives on the History of the South, the volume highlights the distinctiveness of regional school edifices from Florida to Virginia. Rosenwald funds were used to construct 125 buildings in Florida. Hoffschwelle mentions E.L. Snyder, the principal of Clearwater Colored School and teacher Robert Taylor Gilmore of Marianna, for instance, and notes that "Florida A&M received one of the first grants for practice schools at teacher-training programs in the 1920s " (Figure 15, 96). But despite such citations of individual Floridians and of Rosenwald schools in the state, there are unfortunately no vignettes from Florida – or indeed from any of the other Southern states except for North Carolina – detailing how funds were acquired from multiple sources or how the schools were subsequently used to create community centers. The absence of such details leaves the reader with questions about the people involved in these projects. Why were individuals in North Carolina so much more successful than individuals in Florida in acquiring Rosenwald funds? Were Florida public officials less cooperative? Were local communities in Florida less wealthy and/or organized? Did the variations among states such as Florida and North Carolina correlate with racial relations at the state or local level?

The volume is a fascinating study of the bureaucracy and architecture of the schools, but its title, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, suggests a more encompassing analysis than the book provides. A subtitle, specifying Hoffschwelle's focus on schools

as buildings rather than as institutions, would help. Historians of education and of the region will expect more discussion of curriculum and instruction and more mention of students and their families. The author argues that African Americans at the local level "transformed Rosenwald schools into community institutions" (273). But illustrations of the grassroots activism that Hoffschwelle claims the buildings promoted are far and few between. Except for references to the African Americans who worked at Tuskegee and those who later served Rosenwald building agents, the contributions of ordinary black southerners to the success of the program is not apparent. What were the "new public institutions" (2) the schools created? Hoffschwelle's volume does an excellent job of describing the conception and design of the schools, but James D. Anderson's classic, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860 – 1935* (University of North Carolina Press, 1988) remains the best study of the Rosenwald schools in their historical and cultural context.

Amy Thompson McCandless *College of Charleston*

The Swamp: The Everglades, Florida, and the Politics of Paradise, Michael Grunwald (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006, 450pp. introduction, epilogue, notes, acknowledgments, index, illustrations. $27.00 cloth)

Michael Grunwald is a reporter for the *Washington Post* who has been tracking public policy concerning the Everglades for several years, in the process wining numerous awards including an award for his reporting from the Society of Environmental Journalists in 2004. His latest book, *The Swamp*, is a synthesis of his previous work as well as that of other writers—both historians and reformers—on the history of the Everglades. Grunwald's book covers hundreds of millions of years of history in one volume. He begins with the moving of continents from Pangaea and ends with the most recent national Everglades restoration policies. The book functions as a history of the state with the Everglades as its central character.

Florida historians will find nothing new in the first two-thirds of the book. Much of that material has been explored at length by other writers; however Grunwald engagingly ties in most important events, people and trends from the earliest European expeditions

to the early 20th century measures to "conqueror the Everglades" and places it all in an environmental context. For example, even though most avid readers of Florida know about David Yulee and his Florida railroad, Grunwald is able to locate this familiar story to the Everglades and Florida's environmental heritage. His theme of the environment and human attempts to control and conquer it supply an interesting vehicle for familiar stories.

However, the material that covers the post World War II period may be unfamiliar to those readers who do not have an interest in environmental history or the Everglades specifically. Grunwald follows in the footsteps of other authors such as John Kunkel Small (*From Eden to Sahara*, 1929) and Marjory Stoneman Douglas (*Everglades: River of Grass*, 1947) who were the early writers that rang the first warning bells concerning the damage caused by the human imprint on this fragile and unique ecosystem. These similar concerns were again raised by more recent writers such as Patricia Lauber (*Everglades Country*, 1973), Wyatt Blassingame (*The Everglades: From Yesterday to Tomorrow*, 1974), Ted Levin (*Liquid Land*, 2004) and most recently David McCally (*The Everglades: An Environmental History*, 2000). Where Grunwald breaks from these writers is that he is finally able to point to the public policies of conserving the Everglades rather than only chronicling the programs and policies hurting it. Ultimately it is slightly less alarmist than Douglas et al and readers will enjoy a denouement where lawmakers are bending over backwards to preserve the Everglades rather than conquering it. Grunwald does not predict that the Everglades is safely on the track to rehabilitation, rather he is just noting the change in attitudes on the part of politicians, clear it is too early to be too optimistic.

The greatest achievement of this book is its readability and accessibility to a general audience. With a journalist background Grunwald's writing is engaging and compelling. Historians will not find traditional citations but annotated references that may not be as useful as a scholarly text on the subject, but it should point them in the right direction. Grunwald's audience is not an academic one, so scholars should not expect detailed endnotes or historiography, for that they will need to consult McCally, Jack Davis and other Florida environmental historians. In a sense *The Swamp* is history itself, it may mark the point that writers stop pointing to the fire and began to instead evaluate the job of putting the fire out.

Robert Cassanello *University of Central Florida*

Trembling Earth: A Cultural History of the Okefenokee Swamp. By Megan Kate Nelson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006. Acknowledgements, illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 262. $34.95 cloth.)

Recent trends in the study of environmental history have emphasized not merely the destruction or preservation of natural environments but their social construction as well. What expectations have individuals and groups brought to the natural environment, and how has competition over those expectations shaped the resulting interaction between humans and the natural world?

While an overarching synthesis of this process will have to wait for future generations of historians, environmental historians have focused on the interplay between society and the environment by examining the changing cultural significance of particular rivers, forests, or other natural features. Megan Kate Nelson asserts the utility of the concept of "ecolocalism," which she says "conceiv[es] of cultural identity as rooted in a locale oriented to a specific ecosystem," (5) as a tool for understanding this cultural process. Nelson envisions ecolocalism as a new interpretive framework through which historians can "compare local cultures transnationally."(5) Thus her work purports to take historians closer to the goal of synthesizing the relationship between culture and environment on a national or even global scale. Yet this book is not a theoretical manifesto; rather, it is a finely constructed work of environmental history to which a clever and perhaps useful theoretical term has been appended.

Trembling Earth is a fascinating examination of the cultural meanings attributed to the Okefenokee Swamp, along the Georgia-Florida border, from colonial times to the mid- twentieth century. The swamp, composed of dirty water and watery earth, serves as a tool through which Nelson examines the rules governing society, the meaning of alienation and "otherness," and the relationship between culture and place. Each new group of individuals brought with them certain assumptions about land use, property rights, and the role the swamp might play in their future lives. But the swamp itself defied such categorization.

As early planters had seen in it the potential for future agricultural development, slaves saw in it a sanctuary from plantation life. The task system of labor, in which slaves who had completed their assigned task for the day could have the rest of that day for

their own pursuits, encouraged slaves on Georgia's rice plantations to use adjacent swamp lands for farming, hunting, and fishing, but the swamp also served as a gathering place free from white supervision or incursion. It also provided refuge for fugitive slaves while serving as a conduit to Spanish Florida (which gave freedom to runaways from Georgia) for those hoping for a permanent escape.

As Florida passed into the hands of the United States, white authors began to treat the swamp as devoid of any human habitation whatsoever, thus attempting to replace the swamp-as-refuge with the more forbidding image of the swamp-as-barrier. Such treatment eventually inspired whites to reexamine the Okefenokee, and the swamp became a place where (white) men proved their manhood and tamed nature. The Seminole Wars served as the backdrop against which a whole generation of whites rediscovered the Okefenokee, and redefined their own relationship with nature.

This transformation, in turn, set the stage for what Nelson calls the "entrepreneurial Okefenokee," an exploitative and unsustainable attempt to alter the landscape of the region to a more profitable form. Nelson dates this emergence to the 1850s, though clearly the boosterism of the 1880s and beyond certainly hastened that transition, inspiring plans for logging the timber, draining the swamp, and constructing the plank roads and railroads that would eventually make the Okefenokee part of a modern, industrial South. At the time, more than one "self-made man" envisioned his own relationship with the Okefenokee as Stanley and Livingstone had with the African forest. But here too, the swamp resisted categorization, as the failure of the Suwanee Canal and other ventures would attest: the Okefenokee might tolerate exploration, but its complexity defied easy exploitation.

Where the capitalists of the 1890s saw the Okefenokee as a source of raw material to feed a national industrial economy, the Swampers practiced a constantly shifting, mostly sustainable and largely self-sufficient way of life. While ethnically diverse, the Swamper communities were generally lumped together by outsiders as "poor whites" living on the margin of both the economic and cultural mainstream of the South. Much as the swamp had provided a buffer zone between slavery and freedom for blacks in the colonial period, it now provided a buffer between the modern capitalist South and those who didn't quite fit into it. Swamper interests clashed with both the entrepreneurs and the preserva-

tionists, as they sought to live within the swamp rather than either destroy or preserve it.

The book ends with an epilogue in which Nelson examines the impact of tourism on the Okefenokee. Here, as with the chapters on entrepreneurs, Swampers, and preservationists, Nelson's story sounds much like those presented by scholars of Appalachia and other marginal regions. The region, having been exploited by outside interests only to the extent that such exploitation was profitable, was left to market itself as a tourist destination on the basis of its historical isolation and its ecological uniqueness. Nelson's treatment of tourism is superficial, however, and is the one weak spot in an otherwise stellar narrative.

Nelson clearly loves the Okefenokee for its beauty and its mysteries; indeed, its very ambiguity seems to have drawn the author to the topic, much as it drew the human subjects of her study in the past. The book is well written, exhaustively documented, and extremely well presented. Whether or not the reader subscribes to the author's assertion of ecolocalism as a useful theoretical device for understanding the relationship between culture and environment, Nelson must be commended for this pathbreaking study of the cultural significance of the Okefenokee Swamp, which should interest both general audiences and specialists in environmental and cultural history.

Stephen Wallace Taylor *Macon State College*

Interstate Water Allocation in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia: New Issues, New Methods, New Models. By Jeffrey L. Jordan and Aaron T. Wolf, editors. (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006. Acknowledgements, illustrations, tables, maps, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 271. $55 cloth.)

Long-term population growth and economic development in the arid West has long produced conflict over water resource allocation, and such conflict is becoming increasingly common in the humid southeastern United States. Jeffrey Jordan, an agricultural economist, and Aaron Wolf, a geographer, have assembled a collection of essays intended to further our understanding of the hotly contested allocation of water resources from two major river networks in Alabama, Georgia and Florida—the Apalachicola-

Chattahoochee-Flint (ACF) and the Alabama-Coosa-Tallapoosa (ACT). Both of these river basins feature several dams, so the systems are heavily managed, and yet in many years there is not enough water to meet all the demands placed on these basins. In addition to Jordan and Wolf (who contribute to four of the book's eleven chapters) the remaining authors represent a variety of perspectives including sociology, economics, engineering, the law, and public service (including government and non-government organizations). Like many edited volumes, this book is broad ranging, so virtually all readers will encounter at least a couple of chapters that are far removed from their comfort zone. That said, the book's breadth makes clear that water resource conflicts are complex phenomena involving many different social actors and interests, and that experts from many different fields contribute meaningfully to our understanding of such conflicts.

The book is organized around three major sections consisting of three to four chapters each. I must confess mild disappointment at the editors' decision to not include an introductory chapter that might take a stand or present a coherent argument. Their stated aim in a two-page preface, "to further the understanding of the often arduous process of allocating water when it crosses political boundaries" (pp. xiii), seems insufficient for an introduction (particularly for such a wide ranging book). Water resource conflicts are struggles in which economic and political power play a large role in deciding who gets what and when. The book makes this and other points, but there is no real road map at the beginning.

In any event, the first section describes the setting, issues and stakeholders in each of the two river systems. Both river basins originate in northern Georgia, and both drain significant chunks of western Georgia and eastern Alabama. The Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers eventually merge in central Alabama to form the Alabama River, which ultimately empties into Mobile Bay in southern Alabama; the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers merge behind a dam at the Florida/southwestern Georgia border to form the Apalachicola River, which bisects the Florida Panhandle before emptying into Apalachicola Bay. The authors correctly point out that northern Georgia's rapid growth and development is compelling that state to make progressively greater use of their surface water—and that is a problem for downstream users in Alabama and Florida, especially during the region's periodic droughts. Georgia's extensive use of water from each basin threatens

Alabama's growth potential, while Florida is more concerned with declining flows in the Apalachicola River because such flows provide important nourishment for this river's biologically rich flood plains and the Apalachicola Bay estuary. The authors of these first three chapters do a thorough job of examining in detail the variety of competing interests in the region such as those of the federal government (including responsibilities of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers—which is responsible for maintaining river water levels for navigation, hydropower generation, flood control, and recreation); agriculture (irrigation); commercial seafood harvesting; municipal water suppliers; and industrial users (especially power generators). They also point out that the quantity of water in these heavily managed rivers is complicated by concerns over the reliability of flow, the timing and extent of flow fluctuations, and water quality issues.

The middle section of the book consists of four very broad ranging chapters, each devoted to a discussion of case studies of water conflicts between other U.S. states, and a few additional case studies of international water conflicts. At first glance it seems a bit strange that roughly 40% of a book ostensibly devoted to helping us understand water resource conflict in the southeast is actually a discussion of similar conflicts outside the region. Yet these chapters examine a range of practical and legal issues germane to the southeast and in three of the four chapters, the authors made a conscious effort to relate the discussion to the ACF and ACT river basins.

The next three chapters suggest a variety of methods and models used in analyzing the conflict in the southeast. Chapter 8 patiently reviews the likely social impacts to stakeholders for three different water allocation scenarios. Chapter 9 makes the case for incorporating adaptive learning in managing the systems. Pursuing an adaptive learning strategy calls for greater information sharing and flexibility in managing the river systems as we learn more about how they function and react to management decisions. Chapter 10 is a discussion of attempts to model both river systems so that reservoir managers are better positioned to make crucial decisions regarding how much water they allow downstream and when. This chapter will be a struggle for those less technically oriented.

Finally, in a fascinating concluding chapter and brief afterward, the editors recount the negotiations and legal maneuver-

ing between the three states over the past several years. They rightly call attention to the fact that although there has been more failure than successful negotiation so far—most interstate water agreements take decades to iron out. Although at times the book ranges far from the southeast, and there is some challenging technical discussion, the editors have crafted a volume that neatly summarizes many of the crucial issues that emerge when significant demands are made on surface waters that move across state lines. The numerous maps are of fine quality and very useful. Although not environmental history per se, it is occasionally informed by historical perspectives. Were it not for its hefty price tag, the book would be well suited to college level courses in environmental policy, water resource management, and the geography of Florida or the South.

Christopher F. Meindl *University of South Florida, St. Petersburg*

Down to the Waterline: Boundaries, Nature, and the Law in Florida. By Sara Warner (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005. Pp. xiv, 266. Acknowledgements, introduction, illustrations, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. $44.95 cloth.)

The crux of environmental history is the way in which the forces of technology and culture have made and remade landscapes. Sara Warner's *Down to the Waterline: Boundaries, Nature, and the Law in* Florida highlights the manner in which these forces have played out along the much contested ordinary high water line (OHWL). The OHWL stands as an important legal boundary, the line on nontidal waters where publicly owned navigable waterways meet privately owned uplands. In Florida, with more than 11,000 miles of streams, rivers, and waterways, this boundary is especially important and is often at the center of controversies over what are sovereign state lands. The importance of the line is enhanced on this landscape of wide, flat floodplains on which the rise of fall of just a foot in water level can change the shoreline by hundreds of feet. With the population boom in Florida in the twentieth century and the accompanying drive to develop more waterfront properties, the function of the OHWL has only become more significant. Warner, an analyst at the Bureau of Surveying and Mapping, Division of State Lands, Florida Department of

Environmental Protection, does a meticulous job mapping out the legal, technical, and cultural dimensions of this key boundary. She also traces what popular notions of the OWHL have been over time, a difficult task as much confusion has surrounded understandings of the definition of this border line.

When Florida became a state in 1845, the beds and shores of its waterways became sovereign land, to be held in public trust in perpetuity by the new state government. Although it took some years, the demarcation between public and private lands was established at the OHWL. This legal concept, primarily drawn from the ordinary high watermark principle in English common law, developed through centuries of legal precedents contributed by the legal traditions of many countries. The legal understanding of the OWHL has continued to evolve with rulings over the 160 years of Florida statehood. Debate over the definition of the OWHL has heated up in the past four decades. In 1963, Florida's Title Act, sped up the pace of land transactions by extinguishing any claim more than thirty years old against the property being transacted. Although the act worked well for its purposes, the legislation failed to exempt sovereign lands from its effects, thus allowed for the transfer of thousands of acres of sovereign lands into private hands. The rapid conversion of state lands to private property increased scrutiny of the location of OHWL as legal boundary.

In that the line is a legal concept, it is also a real point on the landscape, one that must be located and mapped. Warner points out that the OHWL is an extension of a natural phenomenon, unlike abstract notions such as township, range, and section. In the early part of the state's history this line was regarded as "always manifest" on the landscape a spot where the "the action of the water has permanently marked itself upon the soil." Through legal challenges in the early part of the twentieth century, however, it was recognized that the topography of the state made locating the OHWL less than obvious. In Florida waterways without the traditional riverbank, the low, vegetated waterline makes more it difficult to say with certainty where the line exists. The growth in the importance of the OWHL has paralleled and been driven by the boom in Florida's population over the last century. Accompanying the growing demand for waterfront property is an increasing insistence on accurately determining the boundary line. The need for precision has led to more elaborate scientific methods to find the OHWL. As the line has been contested, however, Warner points

out that it has brought something nearing a crisis of authority in the surveying profession. Private property interests argued that surveyors set the line too high and are complicit in, what has been more recently dubbed, a land grab effort to bring more acreage under state control. These interests argued that the line should be measured the way it was done in the past, failing to recognize the OWHL as a naturally existing boundary that is where it is, but rather a static legal concept.

Along with its legal and technical dimensions, the OWHL is a marker of how we see the natural world, and with that understanding, tracing the history of the line allows us to see the ways in which this view has shifted and changed over time. Nothing exemplifies this more that the modern efforts to remake and then restore the Kissimmee River. Warner does an excellent job weaving the modern history of the Kissimmee into her narrative, retelling the conversion of the river to canal—a story, according to Warner, that is "in many ways, like a modern biblical narrative (Warner pg. 47)." The Kissimmee, historically a 103 mile long meandering river that lay within a one to two mile wide floodplain, is a central inland waterway of southern Florida. In the 1960s the river was transformed from its free flowing state and streamlined into was designated Canal 38. The remaking of the Kissimmee well exemplifies the drive to "rationalize" or "fix" nature. An impulse, as Warner recognizes, to make the Kissimmee River like "regular rivers." Warner notes that streamlining the waterway is also a reflection of the cultural view of water in Florida, one that sees an overabundance and a need to send water seaward as quickly as possible. That view rapidly changed in the climate of the 1970s and 1980s as many realized what had been done to the river, including the dramatic loss of some fish and waterfowl populations and degradation in water quality. In 1992 Congress authorized the Water Resources Development Act with a goal of restoring a large portion of the river, an effort that is ongoing.

In the end, Warner offers a sanguine note that, as our understanding of the natural world becomes more complex, we are moving toward a view of seeing ourselves as a part of—not apart from—nature. Despite bitter court battles over the OWHL in recent years in Florida, she sees citizens becoming more sophisticated in their understanding of their relationship to their environment. She points to the spate of environmental legislation that has followed passage of the landmark 1965 Federal Water

Quality Act. Her discussion of the current support of the effort to naturalize the flow of the Kissimmee River stands as evidence of this as well.

Warner's work is an informed and thoughtful analysis, which addresses many facets, cultural, technical, and legal, of the OHWL adeptly. She has done an excellent job of making a complex legal and technical concept accessible. One of the most salient elements of the book is the author's passion for her topic; Warner comes across as a person with a deep appreciation for the landscape on which she writes.

Stephen Sloan *University of Southern Mississippi*

Saving South Beach. By M. Barron Stofik. Foreword by Gary R. Mormino and Raymond Arsenault. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. Acknowledgement, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xi 303. 27.95 Cloth.)

The 1960s marked a shift in academic thinking as scholars began to acknowledge architectural history and preservation as a vital field within the academy. At the same time, the National Historic Preservation Act (1966) created the first comprehensive federal program to preserve significant properties. Despite the federal mandate, historic preservation in the United States has not followed an orderly pattern. National, state, and local organizations have entered into the fray with varying degrees of success. Consensus has developed around the idea that historical merit, more than artistic uniqueness or nostalgia should define preservation activities, prompting debate as supporters and detractors often struggle to define the broad historical framework that should be used to justify preservation. In *Saving South Beach* historic preservation clashes with development as each side vies for control of this tourist enclave. Preservationist M. Barron Stofik weaves together themes of civic identity, politics, and cultural tension in the story behind the transformation of South Beach.

In recent years region-specific interpretations of U.S. development have stressed southern and western demographic change. This emphasis has led scholars like Joel Garreau (*Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*) and Jon Teaford (*Post-Suburbia: Government and Politics in the Edge Cities*) to consider the Sunbelt as a focal point of

postwar development. Without question, an expanding population has increased the socioeconomic impact of urban development and made Florida a vital part of the Sunbelt phenomenon. This book is a case study that uses oral history to talk about Miami Beach development. While it lacks the depth of recent social history on Florida such as Gary Mormino's *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams* (2006), this work attempts to understand the actors who shaped development in South Beach. On this score it succeeds, offering a mix of character study and frank analysis about the development process that transformed the former retirement community into a global style center.

The author's account begins with brief overview of Miami Beach history that focuses on its emergence as playground for the rich and famous. In the aftermath of the Florida land boom, Miami Beach continued as a haven for the rich. Indeed, its appeal expanded as middle-class Americans determined to enjoy postwar posterity flocked to the city. To Stofik's credit she spends some time explaining the relationship between the Jewish community and Miami Beach. With restrictions barring Jews from many hotels, Jewish visitors clustered in areas willing to cater to them. Over time, their presence helped to define the area as retirees, "gravitate to South Beach to spend their gold years in the warmth and safety of a familiar neighborhood....."(17).

The trigger for modern redevelopment came in the mid-seventies when the decision to label South Beach a blighted area galvanized residents and led to a historic preservation campaign. This activism united gays, young professionals, elderly residents, local business interests, and academics into the Miami Design Preservation League, which used the lure of cultural tourism to counter development pressure. The league was able to create a historic district that forestalled pro-construction interests seeking prime oceanfront property for new convention space (53).

Stofik's narrative stresses that simply having the preservation district did not ensure success. As outside investors moved in and purchased property, a slow gentrification process began. Negative views of Miami Beach expanded as an influx of 125,000 Cubans from the Mariel boatlift put 8,000 new residents in South Beach, rising racial tension sparked civil unrest, and cocaine smuggling from Columbia heighten crime and social unrest in the region. In the midst of these trying times, a complex relationship between business and preservation added to the drama. Traditional prop-

erty management often pitted developers against preservationists. More often than not business interests saw preservation as an obstacle to profit, generating negative feelings. The struggle to control development meant constant scrutiny. While some saw a slow and steady decline of the community, others believed preservation would be the engine that created new growth.

The need to balance development against preserving the viewscape increased as growth in business and tourism meant that basic infrastructure problems became apparent. Providing parking and managing infrastructure in South Beach mirrored problems found in New Orleans, San Francisco, and Boston, where the debate between preservation and business found little common ground (165). Political infighting and personality conflict marked the maturation of the preservation movement as the success of historic district caused residents to question the vision for preservation. The ongoing debate, whether preservation should preserve architecture or be a tool for guided capital investment could not be settled. As older members of the preservation campaign were displaced, accusations of failed opportunities and overt commercialism jeopardizing historic preservation increasingly marred the historic district's reputation. Complaints from concerned local residents could not outweigh increased revenue and the younger demographic that city officials and business leaders saw as vital for community stability.

The author's narrative shows a consistent sensibility for South Beach's pop culture relevance throughout the book. In mid 1980s, when the city struggled to promote community development, it was *Miami Vice* that created a new image for South Beach. The push to re-vitalize that came along with this surge in interest meant that residents within the development zone and outside it felt pressured by entrepreneurs looking to jump start development (152). Later Stofik's examination of Gianni Versace's transformation of the Amsterdam Palace into a personal home served to emphasize the importance of money and connections in the "preservation process." Stofik's discussion of the angry commentary surrounding Versace's renovations illustrates the basic debate over economic viability versus architectural worth that plagues preservationists across the United States (224). Stofik's examination of development illustrates a kind of détente between business and preservation. A balance that accepts the displacement associated with gentrification, but offers reassurance through history

and preservation of culture. The author manages to convey some of the human cost for South Beach's revival, but the fundamental question of displacement, race, and power that shape historic preservation remains unresolved.

Julian C. Chambliss *Rollins College*

Atlas of Race, Ancestry, and Religion in 21st-Century Florida. By Morton D. Winsberg. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. Pp. 125. 139 maps, 12 tables. Cloth $29.95.)

It is well known that Florida has a uniquely diverse history. In *Atlas of Race, Ancestry, and Religion in 21st-Century Florida*, Morton Winsberg offers a new glimpse into the complexity of that diversity. This short book details the state demographics beyond the scope of race and draws fascinating conclusions about intersections of religion, era of arrival, and age in addition to racial distribution. With 139 maps and 12 tables, Winsberg packs an impressive amount of information into a small space and provides readers with a valuable reference for better understanding the movement of people over time in the Sunshine State. Given the current sensational interest in immigration, this work offers a robust context in which to understand Florida's historic and contemporary influx.

Nigerians, the only significant Sub-Saharan African immigrant population in Florida, were drawn to Tallahassee in the 1960s because of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University and Florida State University; Asian Indians, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans and Pakistanis populate Orlando in a higher proportion than in the nation; the Southeast Gold Coast region of the state has one of the highest Hispanic populations in the nation and among the highest Catholic presence...the Gold Coast also has a significant Turkish population and Muslim presence. Florida's famed white retiree population, especially in the Tampa and Miami areas, is in decline and growth of a younger demographic is changing the face of Florida.

Atlas is separated into five chapters: A Brief History of the Population of Florida; County Population Concentrations; A Brief History of Religion in Florida; Contemporary Distribution of Religious Denominations in Florida; and Racial and Ancestry

Distribution within Florida's Largest Urban Areas. In addition to providing distribution maps that represent the various county populations, Winsberg also presents areas where certain populations are overrepresented in the state or nation. This is helpful in discerning where there is simply a large population and where a significant demographic trend has taken place. Where this happens, the author suggests reasons for these phenomena which clues the reader in to keywords they may use to find further information on demographic fits and starts.

The maps and tables alone make the book invaluable to Florida scholars. We can now easily track the regional distribution of the 65 and older population by race (Tables 1.4 a-d), view a color-coded map of where Assembly of God, Episcopal, and Independent Charismatic church members reside (67-69), and have a list of numbers for inhabitants from Canada, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Vietnam (91-93). This guide will allow discussions of Florida's diversity to move beyond generalizations and will be especially handy for university faculty, elementary and secondary school teachers, and policy makers alike.

The only discernable drawbacks of the text are that it does not provide a gender break down and it has no index. It would be interesting to know the male and female dynamics of age, ancestry, and religion to see if gender immigration trends have changed over the years and what the implications of a younger Florida might mean in terms of dating and mating projections. Though the book is very straightforward and accessible, an index would have allowed readers a means by which to cross-reference specific variables of interest. Income would have been another factor to add richness to the study, but given the largeness of the project, such smaller variables were understandable sacrifices. Beyond these aspects of my „wish list" for this text, I am grateful that the data is provided as is. Getting this vast amount of information in one place was, undoubtedly, a Herculean task; that the author and his collaborators were able to make the package tidy and attractive is admirable.

Morton Winsberg, emeritus professor of geography at Florida State University, also authored the *Atlas of Florida* and *Florida Weather*. His extensive journal publications date back to the 1960s and each have made some contribution to better understanding the dynamics of race, age, and geography; it is no wonder that this *Atlas* is such a keen collection of highly-organized details. Clearly this is a text that

the author completed as a labor of love and one he would, after all his research, find of interest and use. The distinct intersection of broad topics, compact construction, and reasonable price make this an appealing choice and a fascinating read. For those interested in the past, present, and future of Florida populations, this is a must-have reference for your collection.

Stephanie Y. Evans *University of Florida*

Losing It All To Sprawl: How Progress Ate My Cracker Landscape. By Bill Belleville. (Gainesville and other cities: University Press of Florida, 2006. Foreward by Gary Mormino and Raymond Arsenault, acknowledgements, preface, bibliography. PP. xvii, 193. $24.95 cloth.)

In this work, veteran author and documentary filmmaker Bill Belleville poignantly chronicles the effect of sprawling urban development in central Florida. Blending an environmental narrative style with the historical notion of a bygone "old Florida," the author eloquently describes the threat of commercial, urban development to the notion of space and nature. At the centerpiece of Belleville's work lies his nearly hundred-year old Cracker-style residence, once home to rural families who have since left central Florida for the calm of less developed Southern locales. The author vividly connects the significance of his house to its surrounding (but shrinking) ecological environment.

Belleville does well in providing a literary voice for his numerous friends and neighbors, all of whom occupy a primary role in human interactions with land and development. The author depicts the harried, pushy temperament of commercial developers with a refreshing dose of animosity and glib humor. Much along the same ideological lines as Adam Rome's *The Bulldozer of the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism*, Belleville shows that pro-growth capitalists in Seminole County utilize their considerable clout to foster commercial and residential growth machines. An avid kayaker and diver, Belleville exposes the heartbreaking damage of development within the Wekiva River watershed.

In recounting how progress destroyed his inherited cracker countryside, the author intertwines personal stories with graceful

descriptions of the central Florida landscape, its flora and fauna, and its ecological demise. Belleville presents development in Florida as a story that predates his fifteen-year residence on Sewell Road. Human intrusion, expansion and "progress" in the state can initially be traced to the elimination of the Timucua and Mayaca peoples by Spanish conquistadors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the dawn of the 1900s, tourists-turned-newcomers were largely successful in their goals of modernization and climitization of the state. Today, many rural Florida communities like Lake Monroe are transformed and ultimately crumble under the weight of commercial sprawl. Unbridled growth and development currently threaten considerable portions of rural Florida, casting ominous shadows over the future of sensitive ecological systems as well as our own sense of place and history. With state and local governments encouraging growth, Florida remains one of the nation's fastest growing states. Belleville accounts for the impacts-social, political, natural, personal-that a community consumed by unsustainable growth ultimately must endure.

Belleville's story is heartfelt and informed, and his work accessible to a wide range of audiences. Scholars in Southern, Florida and Environmental history will find the book compelling and intensely personal. The author's work fits nicely alongside Janisse Ray's *Ecology of a Cracker Childhood* and, perhaps even closer to home, Al Burt's *The Tropic of Cracker* and Rob Storter's *Crackers in the Glade.* Teachers and students in undergraduate Southern Studies or Florida History courses should find Belleville's book to be a valuable literary match with Michael Gannon's *The New History of Florida.*

Robert Krause *Oklahoma State University*

Book Notes

Lighthouse Point, Florida: The First 50 Years. By Dan Hobby. (Lighthouse Point, FL: City of Lighthouse Point, Florida, 2005. Pp. 96. Introduction, acknowledgements, photographs, epilogue, lists of mayors, lighthouse keepers and elected officials. $29.95 cloth.)

In the twenty-first century, not many American towns have living among them the citizens who founded the community. If that occurrence is more likely in Florida, a frontier long after others closed, it is still unusual enough to warrant celebration and a book to mark the town's fiftieth anniversary. Lighthouse Point, Florida, was established in 1956, fifty years after the construction of the structure at the mouth of Hillsboro Inlet that gave the town its name. Lighthouse Point benefited from the post-World War II economic and baby booms that facilitated home construction everywhere, and drew men and women eager to live in the sunnier southern climates they had discovered during their military experience. Development began in 1950 with the Hillsboro Isles Corporation (Larry Tunison and Carl Williamson) and the Hillsboro Land Company (Robert Bateman). Potential buyers were enticed to the area through advertising campaigns that included slick promotional literature and special events that featured the Florida Cypress Garden Water Ski Revue and cruises on the Jungle Queen tour boat.

Dan Hobby's book offers a readable and upbeat history of the town. He begins with a sense of the frontier history of the area, including confrontations between white settlers and Native Americans. Early development, including "Cap" Knight's enterprises and his associations with the humble and the mighty demonstrate the not-altogether-orderly era of the region. Once town

development commenced, however, Lighthouse Point embodied community spirit, volunteerism and a determination to prevent absorption into larger municipalities. Through images and a brisk narrative, Hobby conveys both the details of city incorporation and the social webs that make a community and a political entity. While the book will appeal primarily to local readers, it should not be overlooked by students and scholars interested in community development in the twentieth century. The book can be ordered by contacting the City of Lighthouse Point, Florida at 954-946-6398 or online at www.lighthousepoint.com.

A Tropical Frontier: Pioneers and Settlers of Southeast Florida, 1800-1890. By Tim Robinson. (Port Salerno, FL: Port Sun Publishing, 2005. Pp. i-653. Acknowledgements, forward, introduction, appendices, bibliography. $109.95 cloth.)

It will be evident to any reader of this one-volume compendium of southeast Florida's pioneers that Tim Robinson has devoted an extraordinary effort to compiling individual family remembrances, county histories, and public records into a treasure trove of stories that "flesh out" the public records of land acquisition and settlement. Starting with the census records and federal and state claims records, Robinson locates the farms and towns, verifies the time of settlement and names the family members who lived on the Florida frontier—a feat that, by itself, would be a significant contribution for historians seeking to understand the frontier's social patterns or genealogists searching for lost family members. However, he goes further, scouring published memoirs and diaries, as well as local histories, to provide anecdotes that detail work habits, educational opportunities, religious services, and family celebrations. Robinson clearly understands the limitations of individual memories, often collected long after the event, and he cross-references many conflicting accounts to allow the reader the opportunity to see the problems historians encounter. This meticulous attention to detail enhances the sense of a connected community and allows readers to see for themselves the problems social historians encounter.

Robinson opens his work with a seventeen page essay entitled "A Tropical Frontier." Here he sets the context for understanding the pioneer settlers. In a land where "water was almost every-

where, and the endless variations in depth made travel difficult," Robinson draws upon the works of others to clearly explain the natural features in language that makes "old hands" from newcomers. In addition, his delineation of the various state and federal land acts provides a clear articulation of the opportunities and the barriers to landownership in nineteenth-century Florida. Finally, his discussion of waterways and pioneer production gives the reader a foundation for understanding the economy of the southeastern frontier.

Although many readers may balk at the hefty price, Robinson's *A Tropical Frontier* is a delightful book, and those expecting to "look up" a few individuals will quickly find themselves drawn into the stories, moving from one family to the next as the community unfolds. Moreover, for scholars working in the area of frontier Florida, the compilation of so many names, landholding citations, and early bibliographies will provide an easy reference for their own research. Information about purchases can be obtained through Port Sun Publishing, P.O. Box 334, Port Salerno, FL 34992 or by email at floribooks@yahoo.com.

Florida's Historic Forts, Camps and Battlefields: A Pictorial Encyclopedia. By Donald D. Spencer. (Ormond Beach, FL: Camelot Publishing, 2006. Pp. 420. Preface, military history, images, list of fort sites and museums, references and selected readings, index, picture credits. $49.95 paper.)

This illustrated encyclopedia of Florida's military history includes black and white and color photographs as well as drawings that span the period from early Spanish confrontations with Native Americans to recent images of air and naval bases. The accompanying text provides entries on individual military leaders, forts and battles, as well as guides to battlefields and military museums. A selected bibliography encourages further exploration of Florida's military history and a well-designed index makes the book readily accessible to a variety of readers.

Spencer describes more than 830 forts, camps, battlefields, bases, stockades, arsenals, blockhouses, battles, military leaders, weapons, and military museums in brisk language that is jargon-free and informative. In one example, his entry on Fort Jefferson describes the fort as "one of the largest brick structures

in the Western Hemisphere" and goes one to explain its strategic importance, the manner of construction, its role in the Civil War, later uses of the fort and restoration efforts. The ten-page entry includes vintage and recent black-and-white photographs of the 150-year old fort.

Many of the book's numerous drawings and photographs are period images, and a number of the images are historic postcards. However, the editorial decision to cite all images at the end of the book in a section labeled "Picture Credits" makes the images more difficult to use for other scholars. That criticism aside, this pictorial encyclopedia provides a good reference for a variety of readers interested in Florida's military history. Copies of the book can be obtained through Camelot Publishing, P.O. Box 731138, Ormond Beach, FL 32173, telephone (386) 672-5672.

End Notes

CALL FOR PAPERS
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Florida Historical Society has issued a call for papers for its 2007 Annual Meeting to held in Clearwater, Florida, May 24-26. The theme of the meeting, GLOBAL FLORIDA, will explore the global implications of the state's development from cracker frontier to the space age. Proposals are invited in areas including industry, architecture, agribusiness, immigration, urbanization, race, ethnicity, gender, religion, environment, technology, tourism, and popular culture. Proposals on Florida topics other than globalization are welcome. Proposals for papers and panels should be received no later than January 31, 2007. Proposals may be submitted by email to rsnyder@cas.usf.edu, or may be sent to Dr. Robert E. Snyder, 2401 Blind Pond Avenue, Lutz, FL 33549-7508.

CALL FOR PAPERS
FLORIDA CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS

The 46th annual meeting of the Florida Conference of Historians will be held in Orlando, March 15-18, 2007. The conference call for papers encourages single papers and whole panels in any field of history. The conference welcomes papers from college faculty, high school teachers, and undergraduate and graduate students from anywhere in the world. The keynote speaker for the conference will be Jack E. Davis, Associate Professor of Florida and Environmental History at the University of Florida. He is the author of *Race Against Time: Culture and Separation in Natchez since*

1930 (2001, 2004) and co-editor with Raymond Arsenault of *Paradise Lost? The Environmental History of Florida* (2005). Deadline for paper and panel proposals January 22, 2007. Please submit proposals by email to jchambliss@rollins.edu or send to

Dr. Julian Chambliss
FCH President-Elect
History Department
Rollins College
1000 Holt Avenue-2762
Winter Park, FL 32789

The conference will be held at Walt Disney World Grosvenor Resort. Group rates for the conference are $119 per night plus tax. Hotel reservations must be made by February 15, 2007 [phone 1-800-624-4109 or email www.grosvenorresort.com]. Registration fees for the conference are as follows:

Registration before January 22, 2007

Full time employed professionals	$100
Graduate students and adjuncts	45
Undergraduate students	35

Late registration is $110, $50, $40 respectively

Please send checks made out to Florida Conference of Historians to:

Dr. Steven MacIsaac
FCH Treasurer
Division of Social Sciences
2800 University Blvd. N.
Jacksonville University
Jacksonville, FL 32211

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SATURDAY LECTURE SERIES

Lectures are presented at the Library of the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Avenue Cocoa, FL, at 2:00 pm

December		
	09	Authors Round UP
	16	Jim Snyder, *A Light in the Wilderness: The Story of Jupiter Inlet Lighthouse & The Southeast Florida Frontier*
January		
	13	Kathy A. Fleming, "St. Augustine Lighthouse"
	20	Gregg Turner, "Railroads in Florida"
February		
	03	Robert Cassanello, University of Central Florida "The Jim Crowing of Florida Streecars and the Origins of the Modern Civil Rights Movement"
	17	Leonard R. Lempel, Daytona Beach Community College, "Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Daytona Beach"
March		
	03	Mosquite Beaters Panel Discussion
	24	Chris Monaco, *Moses Levy*

WINTER PARK HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION PROGRAMS AND EXHIBITIONS

January 10, 2007 2:30 p.m. Woman's Club of Winter Park
419 S. Interlachen Avenue

"Placing Memory, Exploring Context: Winter Park's Colony Theater," Julian C. Chambliss, Dept. of History, Rollins College and Denise K. Cummings, Dept. of English, Rollins College

February 2007 Multi-media exhibition focusing on The Colony Theater (c.1939) and its relationship to Winter Park.

February 14, 2007 2:30 Woman's Club of Winter Park
419 S. Interlachen Avenue

"Thomas Edison Returns to Winter Park" Frank Attwood, Playwright and Actor, one-man show

March 14, 2007 2:30 Woman's Club of Winter Park
419 S. Interlachen Avenue

Bob Morris, author and humorist, will talk about his life growing up in Florida and his latest book in his island series.

April 21, 2007 Annual Historical Garden Tour

Tickets for the garden tour go on sale in March at several locations

WOLFSONIAN-FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY FELLOWSHIP

The Wolfsonian-Florida International University is a museum and research center that promotes the examination of modern material culture. The focus of the Wolfsonian collection is on North American and European decorative arts, propaganda, architecture, and industrial and graphic design of the period 1885-1945. The Wolfsonian library has approximately 50,000 rare books, periodicals, and ephemeral items, as well as standard reference materials.

The Wolfsonian's collections contain significant resources for the study of early twentieth-century Florida, particularly South Florida. The Wolfsonian's library has a strong collection of travel emphera from Florida, relating especially to hotels, railroads, and steamship lines. The Wolfsonian also has holdings in the area of early Florida history, architecture, and the state's exhibitions at World's Fairs.

Besides material from the United States, the Wolfsonian also has extensive holdings from the Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. There are also smaller but significant collections

of materials from a number of other countries, including Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Japan, the former Soviet Union and Hungary.

Fellowships are intended to support full-time research, generally for a period of three to five weeks. The program is open to holders of master's or doctoral degrees, Ph.D. candidates, and to others who have a significant record of professional achievement in relevant fields. Applicants are encouraged to discuss their project with the Fellowship Coordinator prior to submission to ensure the relevance of their proposals to the Wolfsonian's collection.

The application deadline is January 2, for residency during the 2007-2009 academic years. For information, please contact: Jonathan Mogul, Fellowship Coordinator/Research Associate, The Wolfsonian-FIU, 1001 Washington Avenue, Miami Beach, FL 33139. By email at research@thewolf.fiu.edu

FIRST ANNUAL FLORIDA BOOK AWARDS

TALLAHASSEE—The kick-off for the First Annual Florida Book Awards, the most comprehensive competition of its kind ever launched in the state and an all-around celebration of the year's best books by Sunshine State authors was held September 25, 2006.

Spearheaded by the Florida State University Program in American and Florida Studies, the first-of-its-kind contest is co-sponsored by more than a dozen high-profile humanities organization from around the state. It seeks submissions penned by new and established authors alike in seven categories ranging from poetry to popular fiction to young adult literature. The distinguished judges are scholars and literary luminaries from FSU and other Florida universities and from co-sponsors such as the Florida Center for the Book, the Florida Historical Society, State Library and Archives of Florida and Florida Humanities Council.

The First Annual Florida Book Awards is calling for entries with an original publication date between January 1, 2006 and December 31, 2006. Florida authors, co-authors—all must be full-time residents except in the non-fiction category—literary agents, publishers or any member of the public may submit an unlimited number of titles into competition. Required forms, fees ($50 per

title, capped at $250) and review copies must arrive no later than 5 p.m., January 5, 2007.

In addition to FSU's Program in American and Florida Studies, a complete list of First Annual Florida Book Awards co-sponsors includes the Florida Center for the Book; the State Library and Archives of Florida; Florida Library Association; Governor's Family Literacy Initiative; Florida Literary Arts Coalition; Florida Association for Media in Education; Florida Center for the Literary Arts; Friends of the FSU Libraries; Florida Chapter of the Mystery Writers of America; and "Just Read, Florida!"

Contest guidelines, entry forms, and lists of sponsors, jury members and key contacts on the Florida Book Awards are available through the FSU Program in American & Florida Studies website, http://www.fsu.edu/~ams.

The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905

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Dating its origins to St. Augustine in 1856, the Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in Florida and serves as the only statewide historical society. The Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through the collection, archival maintenance, and publication of historical documents and photographs; to scholarly research and publication through the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and a variety of awards for the researching and publishing of Florida history; and to public history, historic preservation, and youth education through *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, the Society's annual meeting, awards recognizing the teaching of Florida history, and the Print Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

The Society's official headquarters and the Field Library of Florida History are located in Cocoa's historic United States Post Office, built in 1939. The Society's research library houses over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at ⟨http://www.florida-historical-soc.org⟩.